

THE

Second Part

30th Vol OF A Murray
CAVEAT

Against the

WHIGGS, &c.

WITH A

PREFACE to both PARTS.

*Resoluta Catenis
Incedit Virgo pretiumq; & Causa laboris.*

The THIRD EDITION.

L O N D O N :

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Second Part

Cavalry

WHIGS

W. H. W.

Part 2 of both Parts

The Third Edition

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THE PREFACE.

I Am experimentally convinced, that the Saying, often repeated by some modern Philosophers of the Mendicant Sect, *That we all know our Beginning, but none of us our End*, especially the latter Part of it, contains a great deal of Truth. I had approached near the Meridian of a Man's Age without a Thought of employing the Press about any Production of mine, my Pen being, I thank Providence, engaged for the greatest Part of my Time in a Way more useful to my self, and less troublesome to the World, and my leisure Hours having been but too much addicted to Ease and Pleasure.

But at that critical Juncture, when a Set of Men, by a complicated Series of Management, naturally to be expected from their Party and Principles, had justly alarmed both their Sovereign, (as I hope I may now call Her) and the greater and
A better

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better Part of their Fellow Subjects, and provoked their united Endeavours to free themselves from the Shackles, they had just Reason to apprehend, were preparing for the Prerogative of the one, and the Liberties of the other, (which notwithstanding the new Schemes of our modern Politicians, must, in this Kingdom, always stand and fall together) and to preserve the Constitution in Church and State, then visibly threatened, whilst the other were using even more than their accustomed Diligence, and employing all their Engines, both at Home and Abroad, to maintain the Power they had so much abused, and the Reputation they had as justly forfeited, I thought I could not make better Use of a few Days, in a Time of Vacancy from my more immediate Concerns, than in composing the First Part of this Trifle, which now begins to swell to the Size of a Book.

The Party seemed then to me like a Man upon his Tryal, in great Danger of being Cast, and only hoping to escape by bringing Witnesses to his Reputation: These appeared in great Numbers, most of them of his own Gang, with a small Sprinkling of well-meaning Men among them. It was indeed confessed, that the Criminal had been tried and convicted about Fifty Years before, but being graciously pardon-
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ed then, was an honest Man in the Eye of the Law, and they gave a very fair Account of him, that he had ever since Behaved himself like a peaceable Neighbour.

Tho' I was not summoned for the Queen, I thought it my Duty to appear, and give what Account I could of *Culprit*. I did not question but I could prove, that he was as great a R——ue as ever, that he had made very ill Use of his Pardon, nor was ever known to Repent of his Crime, but followed his old Courses ever since, neglecting no Opportunity of Perpetrating the same Wickedness over again; that he had been several Times since Tried and Condemned for Attempts of the same Nature, from which he had no Way to clear himself, but by impudently arraigning the Justice of the Court; and that he had committed several Facts no less Notorious, for which, tho' he had escaped without Punishment or Censure, yet his Guilt was not the less Apparent.

With this Design was the First Part of these Papers undertaken, to shew, That the Dissenters, with their Understrappers and Auxilliaries, by whatsoever Name distinguish'd, have been all along the same Men; That they have made their Attacks against the Legal Constitution, Civil and Ecclesiastical, in the same regular Manner, and

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have constantly exerted their utmost Endeavours to Overturn and Ruin both, which, Considering their malicious Industry, and the Remissness of the Defendants, there is still Reason to apprehend, they may some time or other, unfortunately Accomplish, unless some further Fortifications be added for our Security and Defence.

When I say, they have made their Attacks in the same regular Manner, I do not mean that it has been always with equal Vigour ; they have not always been furnished with Ammunition for their Batteries, Provisions for their Troops, or Tools for their Pioneers, yet we have never been safe from them : Mount *Ætna* has not always Fuel to feed its Flames, and throw Destruction over the neighbouring Plains, yet the Inhabitants there do not think themselves out of Danger. A Man in an intermitting Fever cannot be said to be in Health, between the Paroxysms ; but the wise Physician takes that Opportunity to administer his Specifick, when Nature is in the least Hurry and Disorder : Whether this be not a proper Season, and something like the Remedy rejected about Seven Years since, be not the only *Quinquina* to Cure our National Distemper, I shall leave to the Consideration of the Legislative, our only true State-Physician, and return to my Purpose.

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I at first resolv'd to confine my self to the Reign of K—Charles II. I thought to take an earlier Rise was altogether Needless, being only *Actum agere*: But the Ideas of those happy Times being generally taken from the lewd Libels and Lampoons which were then published, by a Party, to assist in carrying on their impious Designs, and for the good Service they had done, have been since with great Industry, not only revived and collected into Volumes, for their better Preservation, to Poison the Present Age; but lest they should Perish, have been Incorporated or Abridged by our late *Impartial Historians*, into those more durable Works intended for the Use and Information of Posterity; and these scandalous Pieces having gain'd a Credit, and had a Currency stamp'd upon them, by the Errors and Misfortunes of the Prince, who next succeeded, (which perhaps, if well consider'd, would have a contrary Effect) they have since been taken by Content without any Examination of their intrinsic Value, insomuch that there is no Period of Time, even in the most remote Ages, wherein the Light of Truth is more obscured by the Clouds of Error and Falshood.

To look on the Picture of the Reign of that good King, (for so I was taught to think him in my Infancy, and I could ne-

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ver find Reason to alter my Opinion since) as they have drawn it, nothing can be more Deform'd and Monstrous: They have dress'd him up just as the *Spanish* Inquisition adorn the unfortunate Wretch they have doom'd to the Flames, and with the same Intent too. Tyranny and Arbitrary Power, Popery, Slavery, Persecution and Oppression are Painted like so many frightful little Devils, all over the Coat, they put upon him, to possess the Weak and Ignorant, that he was as very a Scarecrow as they represent him, and thereby justify the Usage they gave him.

How little he deserved those hideous Characters, and especially from that ungrateful Party, many now alive do very well remember; and to others it will appear, by the slight Sketch I have given of the Affairs in his Reign, which yet I hope bears a more true Resemblance, than is any where else to be met with, in so narrow a Compass.

How soon the detestable old Cause, which seemed to expire at the Return of Monarchy and Loyalty, recovered its Vigour, after a Gracious Act of Oblivion: How soon the warm'd Serpents endeavour'd no Sting their Benefactors; what Plots and Contrivances were set on Foot, which obliged the Government to put Restraints upon them, not to force their Consciences, but

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but to secure the Public Peace ; what Correspondences were carried on in *Holland* to bring over a Revolution from thence, even from the Year 1663, throughout that Reign, to which wicked Purpose, all the Noise of Fears and Jealousies was raised, as Juglers engage Peoples Eyes, to impose on their Understandings ; how the King was distress'd, and the Publick Affairs clog'd and obstructed by them, and the Blame laid on those who did not deserve it ; what Use they made of their Power, whenever they were trusted, till his Majesty, having by a peculiar Dexterity, extricated himself, when *Shaftsbury* was so sure of Success, that he insolently boasted, he would Walk him leisurely out of his Dominions, and having defeated their last Effort, and return'd it on their own Heads, thereby secured the short Remainder of his Life in Peace and Safety, I have had but just Room to touch upon. But if ever those Affairs come to be traced from their dark Originals, and followed through the secret Mazes of Iniquity, and their private Recesses exposed to the publick View, I cannot but think it will disclose such Scenes of Villany as must astonish the Present Age, and be the Detestation of all to come : But for this we must wait till another *Clarendon* can be found, who with equal Abilities, no less Candor and Sincerity, and as perfect

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an Insight into this Matter, shall have Leisure and Opportunity to accomplish so useful an Undertaking.

As to my self, being destitute of the Helps and Advantages necessary to furnish out any Thing that might claim the Title of a History, and only carried on by a sincere Love of Truth, I was content to move in a much narrower Sphere, and to give only a brief Relation of the Carriage of the Whiggs in that Reign, from the Public Histories and Accounts of those Times, which are my Vouchers, and where they left me, I chose rather to be Silent, than to deal in Anecdotes or Secret Histories, which I always look'd on as too suspicious, at least to be made use of in a Work of this Nature.

And here I intended to have drop'd the Curtain. As I had my Reasons to begin no farther Backwards, I had others more powerful to leave off there. The Transactions since seem'd too tender to be touch'd with that Freedom, which ought to accompany him who appears in the Cause of Truth; and those Occurrences being more within the Compass of Memory, I thought to lay down my Pen, and leave it to others better qualified, to publish their Sentiments of those Matters, at a more convenient Season.

But

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But some Time since, an unknow Person bringing to the Bookseller, to whom I gave my Copy, a Bundle of Papers, Intituled, *A Second Part of the Caveat, &c.* which he would not suffer to be seen without first agreeing for a Price, and the Times seeming better able to bear the Truth, I was prevail'd with to go on with it my self, which when I first undertook, I resolv'd to pass very lightly over the unfortunate Reign of K. James, if not to leave it in a total Silence: But on further Thoughts, I so much alter'd my Design, as to be more Particular there, than I was in the First Part; my Reasons for which Alteration I must submit to the Public, who are now my Judges.

In the first Place, I thought that Omission would make to great a Chasm in the Piece, and break the Thread I intended to pursue; that my Silence might be taken for a Confession of the Inconveniencies, which they pretend were introduc'd by the Tory Doctrine of *Passive Obedience*, and a tacit Acknowledgment of the Merit of the Whiggs in lending their Assistance to bring about the Revolution, and of their boasted Sagacity, whereby, as they clearly express'd it; they could smell a Mile off, which others could not do till it was in their Mouths.

But if the Fox made the Stink he discover'd, we have more Reason to blame his
Tail

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Tail, than to commend his Nose: If there was an Understanding between the Fortune-Teller and the Pick-Pocket, they both deserv'd the same Reward. That the impolitic Measures of K. *James* the Second, laid his People, at least, under a seeming Necessity of making a Stand, in Defence of their Liberties and Religion, and that all Parties, except the Papists, were concern'd in the Revolution, is readily acknowledg'd; yet the Motives and Principles, whereon each Party proceeded, and the Parts they acted were undoubtedly very different.

The Tories Share in it was just, because it was necessary: When the National Constitution seem'd decay'd and broken, and mortal Symptoms begun to appear, they could not be blamed for doing any Thing which might conduce to its Cure and Preservation; the Disease was desperate, and requir'd a desperate Medicine: But if the Nation was designedly reduced to those Extremities, those who were instrumental in it, ought to be accurs'd to all future Generations; for tho' the Remedy succeeded beyond Expectation, yet there was more than a bare Possibility, that it might have fail'd, and it might have dried the Bones and Marrow of our Posterity. If I had the Misfortune to be poison'd, I should bless the Healing Hand which kindly brought an Antidote; but if *Cornelius a Tilsburg* should

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should give me a secret Dose in a Glass of Wine to try the Success of his Orvietan, when I was just expiring, I should owe him but very little Thanks for the Favour.

I doubt this was too much the Case, which I leave to the Judgment of those who peruse the Account I have given of the Transactions in that Reign, whereby it will appear, that the Behaviour of the Whiggs, or at least the dissenting Part of them, from the Beginning to the End of that Affair, was base, treacherous and ungrateful.

For these Twenty Years last past, it has lain as a Reflection upon the Tories, That their slavish Doctrines of Passive Obedience encouraged that unhappy Prince to take those fatal Measures, which ruin'd him as soon as he but touch'd their Copyhold. This has been so generally affirm'd by the Whiggs, with their usual Modesty and Veracity, that it has met with little Contradiction, which yet is so false, that if it were possible for a Whigg to blush, he would be ashamed of it. The Divines of the Church of *England*, possess'd with a just Abhorrence of those pernicious Opinions, which had brought so much Ruin and Bloodshed on these Nations, did indeed preach Obedience and Submission to the Higher Powers in the full Extent, and in the same indefinite Terms in which they found it in
Holy

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Holy Writ, fuitable to the meek Spirit of the Gospel; and being well acquainted with the Nature and Passions of Men, they did not think fit to describe any Cases, wherein Resistance might be lawful, any more than Drunkenness, Adultery, or Murder, which are not of a higher Nature, or more prejudicial to Society, they left it to the nicer Casuists, the Whiggs, to compute how many Acts of Oppression amounted to a total Subversion, and to fix the Point where Submission to the Higher Powers ceaseth to be a Virtue, and becomes unlawful and dishonourable: But they did not imagine these general Injunctions made any Alteration in human Laws and Constitutions; so that we find, the Tory Parliament, Bishops, Clergy and others, freely remonstrating to the King, on every Act which they thought a Breach upon them, which honest Firmness giving him no Hopes from them, he chose rather to deal with the more compliant Dissenters, who wheedled him on thro' all the unpopular, ungrateful Steps of his Reign, till they Fiddled him into the Gulph of his Destruction, as they say, *The Devil did the Children at Halberstadt.*

But had they behav'd themselves, with the same plain Honesty as the others did, the King cou'd not have carried Things so far; and then a quaint Set of Notions, which they since call Revolution Principles,

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ples, had been spoil'd and render'd uselefs : What they mean by them, I confess I am ignorant. I am sure the Revolution was enter'd into upon very different Maxims ; and if we may judge of those which the Whigs proceeded on, by their Actions, if Lies and Calumny, Hypocrisy and Treachery, Falshood and Ingratitude, were made use of, as the Steps towards it, if in its Accomplishment, it was attended with Breach of Oaths public or private Faith, or any other Relative Ties, I hope there never was, nor ever will be a Set of Principles publicly own'd, even by the Jesuits themselves, whereby any of these can be supported : And if they will reduce their Principles to one, their grand Doctrine of Resistance or Rebellion (for there is no Difference between them, but in the Success) I hope the pernicious Consequences of that, are already sufficiently known and detested.

But from whatever loathsome Roots the Revolution sprung, the Fruit was at last the only Remedy to cure the Calenture, into which they had thrown the Nation ; the Poyson was made its own Antidote, nor could any other Way have been taken when Matters were brought to such Extremities, but that the Constitution would have receiv'd a greater Shock and Alteration, than it did ; and as the Felicity we now enjoy

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enjoy under the best of Queens, is a Part of the happy Consequences of it, every true Briton ought to do his utmost in his Station, to support and defend it.

For if those who labour'd so long for a Revolution, before the Date of any of the Greivances complain'd of, in the Prince of Orange's Declaration, are for that, no more to be reputed Friends to the Nation, than he who by giving me a Kick, should chance to break an Imposthume. Those, if any such there be, who linger after a Re-Revolution, to throw these Kingdoms back into that Disorder and Confusion, with which such a Misfortune must be introduc'd, are certainly its Enemies, if they think any of the Means used to bring about the Revolution, will not bear the Test of the strict Rules of Honour or Justice. I would only recommend a Maxim of the Civil Law to them, which tells us, *Multa impediunt Matrimonium contrahendum quæ non destruunt Contractum*, and with very good Reason, for the breaking such Marriages would even destroy the chief End of Marriage, and introduce the Confusion which it is intended to prevent: Nay the Physicians tell us, that even, *Malum bene positum non movendum est*, and if so great a Regard be had to the Ease and Quiet of single Bodies and private Families, how much more Care ought to be taken

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to preserve the Peace, Tranquility and Happiness of aggregate Bodies, and that larger Family the public Society? The Disturbance whereof, every individual Person must in some Measure be sensible of.

The Providence of God in disposing Kingdoms, is as unsearchable as in the rest of his Works: Let us leave that to his Divine Wisdom; let us not be like *Spencer's* vain Giant, who wou'd undertake to measure and weigh the Sea and Earth, to regulate the Incroachments they had mutually made, and reduce each to its primary Bounds. The Good of Society, if it be not the sole, is one of the chief Ends of Government, and it's better that one Man shou'd suffer than a Nation. For my Part, I am satisfied that all the Roman Catholic Branches of the Royal line are legally incapacitated from succeeding to the Crown, and if there were no other Reason for that Exclusion, besides the Umbrage it wou'd give the Party, I have made the Subject of these Papers, and the Advantages they wou'd take to carry on their Designs, which God be thank'd they have not yet been able to bring to Perfection, even That wou'd be no small Argument for it.

There is no Englishman but must allow, that the King or Queen with the Lords and the Representative of the Commons, have Power to alter and limit the Succession;

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sion ; and he, that will not own that the Constituent Parts of the Legislative have been existent since the Revolution, deserves to perish by those Laws, under which he enjoys his Protection ; and at the same Rate of Arguing, may reduce the Statute Book, to the Volume of the New Testament : Nor ought we, considering all things, to be more solicitous about the Pretensions of any, who may seem to be prejudic'd by the present Limitation, than in reviving the Claims of the Lineal Heir of the *Plantagenets* or *Edward the Confessor*. I wou'd give these Arguments a larger Scope, but that I have detain'd the Reader too long already, therefore that we may never want a Succession of Princes of the Protestant Religion, according to the present Settlement, to sit on the Throne of *Great Britan*, and that we may never more have Occasion for Revolutions or Re-Revolution is my hearty Prayer ; and as there is but one Misfortune we yet feel, from the last, I mean War, which has all along been esteem'd one of the Scourges of the Omnipotent, and this heavy expensive War we have been 20. Years engag'd in, having drain'd the Vitals of the Nation by the Expence of 100 Millions of Money and a Profusion of Blood not to be computed, I pray God that it may speedily end in a happy and a lasting Peace, and I hope every honest *Englishman* will say *Amen*. A

Immediately after which his late Majesty
 the late King James II. pronounced the Sentence
 The Morning of his Death discovered no Part

of the State and Temper which for
 low'd, but seem'd every Way to promote
 and prosperous State to himself, which
 want of his Brother's Part, was amply made

HISTORICAL VIEW

OF THE

Transactions

OF THE

WHIGGS, &c.

The Chief of the Whig Party was

others had not with their late Majesty

HAVING in the former Part of these

Sheets attended one Monarch to his

Grave, from the Time of his happy

Restoration to the Crown of his Ancestors, of

which, with its just Prerogatives, he died quietly

possess'd, notwithstanding all the Craft, Force

and Malice of the perpetual Enemies to him and

his Family; it may not be improper now, to take

a View of their Behaviour since the Time of his

Decease.

B Imme-

Immediately after which, his less fortunate Brother King *James II.* mounted the Throne : The Morning of his Reign discover'd no Prognosticks of the Storms and Tempests which follow'd, but seem'd every Way to Promise a calm and prosperous Season : As to himself, what he wanted of his Brother's Parts, was amply made up by Application, and Industry : He was past the Meridian of his Age, in the former Part of which, as he had too early Occasions to look into the Genius of Foreign Courts; so his riper Years afforded him but too many Opportunities of Understanding that, of the People he was to Govern : He was of a Martial Temper, and had given many Proofs of his Courage and Abilities that Way, both by Sea and Land : He perfectly understood the Affairs of the Navy, the Strength and Glory of this Kingdom : He was Temperate and Frugal, a prudent Manager of his Treasure, a kind Husband, and an indulgent Father ; and, 'till his latter Days, esteem'd a strict Observer of his Word.

The Chief of the adverse Faction was dead in *Holland*, others had met with their due Rewards here, and the rest of their Forces were intirely scatter'd and broken, as we have already seen : The Corporations had been well garbled, and the Government of the Counties, as well Civil as Military, and other publick Employmenes, entrusted in Loyal Hands ; so that he, who but a while since was not only to have been excluded from his Right of Succession, but proscribed and banish'd from his Native Soil, found himself peaceably possess'd of the Crown in the Moment it descended to him, and was proclaimed King with a more universal Joy and Applause, than

than the Loss of a Predecessor, so well beloved by the People, left Room to expect.

The first Speech he made as King, the Day his Brother died, still raised the Hopes of a happy Reign. The Council being assembled, he told them, That since it had pleased God to Place him in that Station, and that he was now to succeed so gracious a King, as well as so kind a Brother, he thought fit to declare to them, That he would endeavour to follow his Example, and especially in that of his great Clemency and Tenderness to his People: That tho' he had been reported to be a Man for Arbitrary Power, (which was not the only Story had been made of him) yet he was resolved to make it his Endeavour, to preserve the Government both in Church and State, as it was then established by Law: That he knew the Principles of the Church of England were for Monarchy, and that the Members of it had shewn themselves good and loyal Subjects, therefore he would always take Care to Defend and Support it: That he knew the Laws of England were sufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as he could wish. And as he would never depart from the just Rights and Prerogatives of the Crown, so he would never invade any Man's Property; concluding, That as he had often heretofore ventured his Life in the Defence of the Nation, so he would still go as far as any Man in Preserving it in all it's just Rights and Liberties.

I cannot but have the Charity to believe, that these were his genuine Thoughts and sincere Intentions at that time; and as no Prince could express himself more to the satisfaction of his People; so no People could reasonably expect more from their Prince, from whom so well qualified and so well inclined, they had good

Grounds to hope for a Return of those happy Days, their Ancestors had enjoyed under the best of his Predecessors, among whom he had undoubtedly been placed in our Histories, had he persisted in these just Sentiments, and not suffered himself to be misled by those who industriously sought his Ruin, under the specious Colour of advancing the Cause of God, in that of the Religion he had the Misfortune to profess.

During the Reign of his Brother, by his Advice, and for his own Interest, he had forborn to own himself publickly of the *Romish* Persuasion, nor had he ever been convict of it; (so that the Exclusion Bill could have no legal Foundation) He had indeed been charg'd with it, and had brought Actions thereupon, and recover'd Damages, tho' not proportionate to the Hazard of a Crown, yet too much above the Circumstances of the Defendants, which was done only *in Terrorem*, being generously forgiven by him.

But now he came to the Crown, he thought it beneath him to prevaricate with God and Man in an Affair of that Consequence: The *Sunday* after his Brother's Death, he went openly to *Mass*, which was a surprizing Stroke to some who did not before believe it, and was laid hold of, by his Enemies, to his Disadvantage; yet this fair Dealing could cast no Blot on his Honour, whatever it did on his Politics; so that had he been content with the Exercise of his own Religion, and not broke in upon that, which was legally Establish'd, he might yet have reigned the happiest of his Race.

Not that I imagine, if his Reign had continued ever so prudent or gentle, it would have been free from the Attacks of the Faction ; on the contrary, I am persuaded, That if *Trajan* or *Antoninus* had return'd from the Dead, nay, had an Angel been sent from Heaven, to govern them, with the hated Name of a *Stuart*, and the more detested Title of a *Monarch*, they would have endeavour'd to Dethrone him.

The early Attempts against him in the *North* and *West* Parts of his Dominions confirm me in this Opinion : He then had made no Infractions on the Laws, no Alterations in Church or State, all Things remain'd in the Condition his Brother had left them ; nor could they complain of any Hardships put on any One, unless the Whipping of that flagitious Wretch *Oates* could be so esteem'd, whose Hide was in no Degree capable of making Atonement for the Blood had been spilt, and the Mischiefs had been occasion'd by his multifarious Perjuries.

Before I proceed to give an Account of the Expeditions of *Monmouth* and *Argyle*, I must crave Leave to look into the Condition of Affairs previous and preparative to them, in a more particular Manner, than there was Room to do it in the first Part. The latter of these after the Execution of his Father, had, by the Clemency of King *Charles II.* been restored in Blood and Estate, which Favour he very ill requited ; so that in the Year 1681, he had been tried for High Treason, and Judgment given against him, yet his Life was intended to be spared ; and his Confinement after Sentence was with as much Liberty as before his Trial, which gave him the Opportunity of making his Escape

the Habit of his Daughter's Footman, and getting into *Holland*; after which, the King continued his Kindness to his Family, out of his Estate, which he still return'd with the usual Gratitude of his Party, keeping up a factious Correspondence both here and in *Scotland*, and entring as far as any into the *Presbyterian* Plot. In which Plot, the Duke of *Monmouth* being also too far engaged, on the Discovery thereof, he thought fit to abscond, and was thereupon put into a Proclamation, amongst others of the Conspirators, several of whom not appearing, were proceeded against by Way of Outlawry; which drawing towards an Issue, the Duke wrote two Letters to the King to implore his Pardon, confessing his Guilt as to the designed Insurrection; but denying any Knowledge of the Assassination; which had so good an Effect upon a tender Father, that he admitted him to his Presence, where with great Signs of Contrition, the Duke acknowledged his Guilt, and gave a greater Light into many Parts of the Conspiracy, than could otherwise have been obtain'd; on which, the King graciously forgave him, with the additional Favour of a Promise not to make him an Evidence; and the Reconcilement was so managed, that *Monmouth* was to owe it to the Intercession of the Duke of *York*: Yet no sooner was his Pardon pass'd, than his old Accomplices flocked about him, and arrogantly gave out, That he had made no Confession, but had asserted the Innocence of some that had suffer'd; which tending to vilifie the Truth, and bring a Scandal on the public Justice, his Majesty thought fit to put him in mind of his late Danger, and demanded of him for his own, as well as the Nation's

Secu-

Security, such a publick Satisfaction as he had just before given to his Majesty in private, which he seeming willing to comply with, All that he was obliged to do, was to write over and subscribe the following Letter, wherein, tho' his Guilt is very tenderly express'd, and his Safety and Credit as much consulted as was consistent with that of the King and Kingdom, yet we have an undeniable Proof of the Truth of the Conspiracy.

I Have heard of some Reports of me as if I should have lessen'd the late Plot, and gone about to Discredit the Evidence given against those who have died by Justice: Your Majesty and the Duke know how ingenuously I have own'd the late Conspiracy; and tho' I was not conscious of any Design against your Majesty's Life, yet I lament the having so great a Share in the other Part of the said Conspiracy. Sir, I have taken the Liberty to put this in Writing for my own Vindication, and I beseech you to look forward, and endeavour to forget the Faults you have forgiven me: I will take Care never to commit any more against you, or come within the Danger of being again misled from my Duty, but make it the Business of my Life to deserve the Pardon your Majesty hath granted to your dutiful

Vid. History of the Conspiracy.

MONMOUTH.

No sooner was this known, but his pretended Friends plied him again, animating him to continue faithful to the Party, by whom, and by the King's Favour, they assured him he could not fail in a little Time to attain his End, and overbear all that should oppose him. By these and other mischievous Instigations, they soon turn'd his in-

constant Mind, and defaced his new made Vows of Loyalty: Insomuch, that soon after he came rashly to the King, and earnestly intreated the Paper might be return'd to him, pretending a Fear that it might be made use of to blast his Reputation, and perhaps to bring him as an Evidence; and so vehemently he insisted on his Request, that the King return'd it to him, but at the same Time banish'd him the Court; and having first engaged his Promise, that he would never take up Arms against him or his Successor, obliged him to leave the Kingdom.

Yet so fond a Father was the King, that notwithstanding all the Duke of *Monmouth's* Mis-carriages, he privately supplied him with Money in *Holland*, and sometimes wrote to him with his own Hand; but hearing of his over-kind Reception there, grew jealous, that his restless Temper might occasion new Troubles, and made his Complaint to the Prince of *Orange*, but to little Purpose; the Prince continued to do him publick Honour, and ordered his Troops to Salute him when he happen'd to be present at Reviews. This the King resented, as he had Reason, and by Mr. *Chudleigh*, his Minister at the *Hague*, forbid it to be done, by his Troops in the *Dutch* Service. *Chudleigh* communicated the Order to the Officers without acquainting the Prince, which he took so ill, that in a Passion he threatned *Chudleigh* with his Hand lifted up; of which that Envoy complain'd to his Master, who was so highly offended at it, that he forbid him to see the Prince; and thus Affairs stood there when that King died.

Hist. W. 3.
Vol. 1.
fol. 159.

But

But it is to be remembred, that besides *Monmouth* and *Argyle*, there were many others of both Nations, whose Guilt in the late Conspiracies had obliged for their Safety to fly from the Hand of Justice, and take Shelter in that common *Asylum*. Amongst these, were the Lord *Gray*, Col. *Holmes*, *Rumbold*, (the Owner of *Rye-House*) *Goodenough*, *Nelthorp*, *Tyley*, (since Knighted by King *William*) Major *Ayloff*, *Ferguson* and *Lobb*, and some other Nonconforming Ministers, with divers other *English*: And of the *Scotish* Nation, Sir *John Cockran* and his Son Sir *James Dalrymple*, (since Earl of *St——s*) ; some of the Murtherers of the Archbishop of *St. Andrews*, and too many others to be here particularly named; these were continually flocking about *Monmouth*; and it is easy to guess, this Gang of Outlaws did not read Lessons of Loyalty to him, their Cabals (which were narrowly watch'd) gave but too much Reason to suspect the contrary.

One of the first Things King *James* did, after his Accession to the Throne, was to let the Prince of *Orange* know, how desirous he was to maintain a perfect Amity with him, and to converse with him rather as a Father, than as an Ally and a Neighbour. If common Justice, Gratitude for past Favours, Proximity of Blood, or the nearer Relation by his incomparable Princess had been of any Force, the King had Reason to expect a suitable Return; but these are too feeble Ties to on ambitious Mind: The Prince had long in his Imagination grasped the Crown of these Realms, and it is to be feared, was for coming to the Possession of it by any Way which he thought the nearest,

That

Vid. 1 Part.
fol. 13. &
seq.

That under the Administration of *De Witt*, the *Dutch* should make use of the *Faction* here in a Time of War, when all Methods are taken to distress an Enemy, and perhaps in Return to a like Correspondence the King held in those Countries, especially in *Zealand*, for the Advancement of his Nephew's Interest, (on which Account Captain *Buat* suffer'd Death there in the time of the first *Dutch War*) may be excusable on their Part; and something may perhaps be said for the Prince, after the tragical End of the *De Wits*, when he came into Power; that notwithstanding his Obligations to his Uncle, he continued the same Practice during the Second War with that People, had it ended there.

Ibid. fol.
30.

Ibid. fol.
35, 36.

Ibidem
fol. 103.

Hist. W. 3.
Vol. 1.
fol. 111.

But we have seen, that after that Peace, the same Intrigues were carried on to the Time of his Marriage: After which, when the Court of *England* made him all possible Advances of his Friendship, he is supposed to have been a great Spur to the Bill, which was to exclude the Father of his Princess, the Regency Project, at it's second bringing in, being form'd with a Regard to him. And if you will believe his Historian, he tells a Story, That even about the time of the Marriage, the Lord *Berkley* waiting on the Prince, at *Arlington-House*, and his Highness asking him the News, his Lordship made answer, That he had been with some Parliament-Men, who were very warm for the *Bill of Exclusion*, and whom by many Arguments he had endeavour'd to persuade against it; *And why did you so?* replied the Prince; which Words strangely surpris'd the Lord *Berkley*; who perceiving how ill he made his Court to the Prince by taking the Duke
of

of *York's* Part, turn'd the Conversation upon a more agreeable Subject; and he says further, That 'tis certain his Presence gave fresh Spirit to the Discontents here; and the *King* was rid of a great Uneasiness, when he went for *Holland*.

It is observable, that this was almost 18 Months before the Bill was brought into *Parliament*; for tho' *Shaftsbury* had brooded over it, almost from the time of his first Disgrace, it was the *Popish Plot* that hatch'd it and gave it Life. Now if this Story be true, it is easie to imagine with what Views the Prince enter'd on his Marriage; whereby, that charming Lady, who would have been valued as an inestimable Blessing in the Bed of any other Prince in *Christendom*, was made a stalking Horse to Ambition, the predominant Passion in his Breast; and the Ends wisely and honestly design'd by King *Charles II.* and his Ministers in making the Match were frustrated. Yet the inscrutable Providence of God has so ordered, that these Nations now feel the happy Effects of it, tho' by Methods very different from what were then proposed or thought of.

Some Instances of the Prince's subsequent Carriage towards King *Charles II.* we have already met with; and now instead of embracing the proffer'd Friendship of King *James*, with that Sincerity as ought to have been mutual between them, Intrigues were on his Behalf carried on with *Monmouth* by the Favorite *Bentink*. *Skelton* who succeeded *Chudleigh* as Envoy there, had a strict Eye on all these Motions; and by his Informations, the *King* foresaw that *Monmouth* was likely to create him some Trouble; to prevent which he endeavour'd to get him secured and

Vide
1 Part 103.
v. ante. f.
8.

Hist. and sent into *England*. This could not be done
W. 3. Vol. without the Knowledge of the Prince of *Orange*,
1. fol. 160. who sent *Bentink* to give him Notice of it, advised him to retire to *Brussels*, and supplied him with Money for that Purpose, with a further Assurance, that if he would go to the Campaign in *Hungary*, he should be maintain'd at the Prince's Charge, with an Equipage suitable to his Quality. The Duke hereupon went to *Brussels*, but some Papers found in his House by *Skelton*, discovered certain Proofs of the Correspondence between him and *Bentink*, and gave the Envoy a Jealousie that afterward appear'd to be well grounded.

Monmouth had not been long at *Brussels*, when at the Instance of the King, (who thought him still too near his factious Camerades) the Marquis de *Grana*, Governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*, obliged him to depart those Dominions; from whence he return'd into *Holland*, and lay incognito there.

How far the Design of the Duke's Undertaking was advanced, when he went to *Brussels*, is not well known; but it is certain, his Absence retarded it very little, (the whole Time between the Death of King *Charles* and *Argyle's* embarking not being full Three Months) but upon his Return, the Plot begun to thicken, the Meetings of the Conspirators were more frequent, and the Preparatives more hasten'd. Some say, *Monmouth* himself was very averse to the Enterprize, and give us a Letter of his, but without Date or Address; wherein he raises several Difficulties, and gives several Reasons against it, but none of them grounded on the Illegality of it, or the Breach of Faith and Honour it would be

Vid. Appendix to Welwood's Mem. Hist. of England, Vol. 3. fol. 434.

be attended with. Those were Principles I suppose his Correspondent would not have allow'd, therefore it was in vain to urge them. The Project however went on, tho' in some Things they differ'd in their Sentiments. *Argyle*, Sir *John Cockran*, and others, were for having the *Monarchy* changed into a *Republick*; on the other hand, *Gray*, *Ferguson*, and that Gang, (tho' perhaps without any good Design towards him) flatter'd his Ambition with all that is attractive in a Crown: His Eye had been too long fixed on that glittering Object not to side with the latter; yet he so well dissembled with the others, that they took him to be as good a Commonwealth's Man as the best of 'em. Being thus agreed, they came to a Resolution, That *Monmouth* should make a Descent upon the *West* of *England*, where they expected great Numbers of the factious discontented Party to joyn him; and that at the same Time, to make a Diversion, *Argyle* should raise a Rebellion in *Scotland*, his Estate and Interest being very considerable there, and giving 'em Hopes of a strong Assistance.

The Duke of *Monmouth* was never esteem'd a profound Politician, which gave him an Advantage of being more easily believed. This has inclined some to think, that not only *Argyle* and his Republicans, were deceiv'd by him, but that the Prince of *Orange* himself was drawn to favour the Enterprize, by a Promise, That *Monmouth* would set him upon the Throne, that *Orlean's* he would only be the *Joab* to conquer the Land, *History*, and the Prince was then to come and possess it. fol. 277.

Others

Others are of Opinion, and perhaps more justly, That the Prince was not the Man imposed on, but that under all the outside Appearance of his Kindness to *Monmouth*, there was nothing of real; that he look'd upon him as one who stood in his Way to the Crown he had so long aimed at, and was willing to be rid of him, but in what Manner was not so easie to be resolv'd; *Hungary*, where he proposed to have sent him, might have yielded him fresh Harvests of Lawrels, which would have still more endeared him with the People of *England*, to whom upon Occasion he might have return'd at a short Warning: On the other Hand, there was no trusting a Man of his Levity and Ambition on an Enterprize which might possibly succeed beyond Expectation; that tho' he was despised by the Leaders of the Faction, who thought to use him only as a Tool they might lay by at Pleasure; he knew him to be brave and enterprising, and infinitely beloved by the common People, who are of the greatest Weight in violent Revolutions, when the Flood Gates of their Mob *Original* of Power are set open to overwhelm the Laws and Government; that there is no doubt, but that wary Prince, in an Affair of so great Consequence, and near Concern, weigh'd all these Matters; that he sound'd the Dispositions of the more considerable of the Fugitives; that *Gray*, tho' he was discontented with the *King*, yet on other Accounts had no Reason to be satisfied with the Duke. The Resentments of an injured Husband are easily wrought upon, especially when back'd with Promises and Hopes of Advantage; nor was there any Hazard in the

the Part he was to play, which would at the same time give him an Opportunity to make his Peace with the *King*, and by a double Perfidy might more effectually serve the Prince afterwards in another Manner; they think *Monmouth* was thus push'd on to his Destruction, and to make all sure, *Argyle* was to be served in the same Manner by *Cockran*.

Whether by these, or on what other Motives, the Prince of *Orange* and the *States* were induced to encourage or connive at an Expedition of this Nature, contrary to the Faith of publick Treaties, and the reciprocal Professions of Friendship lately renew'd between the King and them, I shall leave to others to consider; but that they did so is certain. Upon the return of *Monmouth*, *Skelton*, who was very vigilant and active in his Station, and no less zealous for his Master's Service, more narrowly watch'd the Proceedings of the Rebels. He had Notice of *Argyle's* three Ships, and the Persons who hired them, and gave in a Memorial to the *States*, desiring they would give Orders to seize them; The Port he mentioned was indeed order'd to be searched, but Notice was privately given to the Parties concern'd to make use of others; and thus *Argyle* got a free Passage from *Holland*, setting Sail for *Scotland*, May 2. 1685.

After this, the Envoy gave in a List of about 100 of the Names of those Malecontents, insisting, they might be seiz'd or banish'd; but the Birds were flown before the Order or Warrant could be executed. He also gave the *States* an Account of the Vessels hired for the Duke of *Monmouth*, and wrote about the same to the Admiralty of *Amsterdam*; which Letter was delayed

Orleans,
History,
fol. 277.
Evenem-
Tragi-
ques de
Angle-
terre,
fol. 288.

lay'd in the Carriage, and afterwards trifled with; till it was thought the Duke had got clear; after which, Orders were given to Arrest the Frigate the Dukes Person was to be upon: When the Officers going to put the Orders in Execution, unluckily met with the Ship which had lain a Week in the *Texel*, but kindly suffer'd her to break thro' her Arrest and set Sail for *England*, on Sunday 31st of *May*. What occasion'd this long Delay of *Monmouth* behind *Argyle*, I know not, but if the Enterprize had been designed to Prosper, this alone had been sufficient to make it Miscarry, *Argyle* being routed within four Days after the Duke's landing, and within a Fortnight more taken and executed.

Whilst these Preparations were making in *Holland*, the King had called a Parliament; where the good Effects of King *Charles* his Conduct, in the four last Years of his Reign, very visibly appear'd; they acted with quite a different Spirit from that which had possess'd the three last Parliaments. The King at their meeting repeated to them the Assurances he had before given to the Council, but with some further Additions, which met with equal Returns of Zeal and Affection, and considerable Supplies given with that Alacrity, that the King express'd himself better pleased with the Manner, than the Matter.

The Parliament was sitting when these Descents were made, which the King successively acquainted them with, as they came to his Knowledge: The Duke landed not till Thursday 11th of *June*, of which the King received Notice the 13th, by an Express from the Mayor of *Lyme*; whereupon he sent a Message to the Commons, who immediately drew up and presented a very
Loyal

Loyal Address, and resolved upon an Act to attain the Duke of *Monmouth* of High Treason; which Act passed both Houses in two Days; and they went on with that Unanimity and Dispatch, that all their Business being done by the 2d of *July*, and their Presence being requisite in their respective Countries, they were then adjourned to the 4th of *August* following, with a Design of further Adjournments till Winter.

The Declarations of the two Chiefs of this Rebellion plainly discover the Spirit and Temper of their Party; had they been dated four Years later, they could not have been fill'd with more bitter Investives against the King, nor have laid a heavier Load of Scandal upon his Government: This has been their constant Practice, to seek Faults, and if they cannot find them, to frame Something to serve their Turn.

But all this would not avail them: At that Time, Duke *Lauderdale*, and after him the King, when he was Duke of *York*, had settled Matters on so good a Foot in *Scotland*, that notwithstanding the Natural Fierceness of that People, and the Number of the Disaffected there, *Argyle* could not get together above 3000 Men, and those were of his own Clan and Vassalage, with which Force he was never able to face the Royal Army, but was chased from Place to Place, 'till he was taken. *Monmouth's* Affairs seem'd at first, in a more promising Condition; from less than 100 of all Degrees, with which he landed, his Forces in four Days Time increasing to 2000 Foot, and 300 Horse, and soon after to above 6000; and it was said, if they had had Arms, he might easily have raised above double that

Number. In his Declaration, he stiled himself *Head and Captain General of the Protestant Forces of this Kingdom*; but a Week after his Landing, he was at *Taunton* proclaimed King; beginning his mock Sovereignty with three Proclamations, one to set a Price upon King James's Head, a second declaring the *Parliament* a seditious Assembly, and the third to declare the Duke of *Albemarle* a Rebel.

Bloody-
Affizes.

Wel-
wood's
Memoirs,
fol. 172.

Some say he was persuaded to take the Title of King by some of his Followers, who told him, That the Reason why none of any Figure or Quality declared for him was, because he came upon a Commonwealth Principle; others tell us, That this was look'd upon to be the only Way to provide against the Ruin of his Friends, that in case of Misfortune they might be shelter'd by the Statute of *Hen. VII.* in Favour of those that should obey a King *de facto*.

Ibid. 173.

Whatever Reasons he had to do it, when *Argyle* and *Rumbold* heard of it in *Scotland*, they openly charged him with Breach of his Word, he having, as they said, promised to concur in changing the *Monarchy* into a *Republick*: Nor were they the only Persons concern'd at that News; it is said, the Prince of *Orange* received it with much Indignation; and by his Manner of speaking of the Duke, gave Occasion to believe he also had been imposed upon by him.

Orlean's
Hist. 280.

Hist. W. 3.
Vol. 1.
fol. 164.

There were at that Time three *English* and three *Scotch* Regiments in the Service of the States, which on this Occasion the King thought fit to send for Home: Whereupon, the Prince of *Orange* told *Skelton*, That *Monmouth*, tho' a Man of mean Parts, had a warlike Genius, and was better skill'd in Military Affairs, than most of those, the King had to employ against him; that

that he would not only send the Regiments, but was ready to cross the Sea in Person, and to Head the Royal Army against the Rebels. *Skelton*, who look'd upon the Prince as one of those great Politicians, whose Actions are always liable to Suspicion, could not put a good Construction on the Forwardness of his Offer; he therefore speedily gave the King Notice of it, and how dangerous he thought it would be to accept his Assistance; so that when *Bentink* arriv'd, who was sent to the King with the same Message, his Majesty ordered him to acquaint the Prince, That their common Interest required that he should stay in *Holland*; giving him further to understand, That he did not take his Highness's Zeal to be at that Time seasonable.

Orlean's
History
fol. 280.

As it happily fell out, there was no Occasion either for him or the Regiments: *Monmouth's* Chimerical Reign did not last above a Fortnight, before it was determined by his entire Defeat, at the Battle of *Sedgemoor*, where his Foot maintain'd the Fight with great Obstinacy, but his Horse, whether through Want of Discipline, or by the Treachery of their General the Lord *Gray*, made no Resistance, but, as soon as Colonel *Oglethorpe*, and Sir *Francis Compton* advanced to Charge them, at the Head of some of the King's Horse, immediately run away in Confusion. The Duke escaped with about 50 Horse, but was so close pursued, that he was forced to Shift for himself. This decisive Battle was fought the 5th of *July*; and on the 8th in the Morning, he was found in a Poor Disguise, hid in a Ditch and cover'd with Fern; but his Behaviour was meaner than his Garb, and more unsuitable to his former Character, trembling

v. Hist. of
England,
Vol. 3.

bling and fainting away, so that it was difficult to keep Life in him. When he was a little recover'd he wrote a Letter to the King, full of the most submissive Expressions, abjectly begging his Life and the Liberty of Speaking to his Majesty, which he was admitted to do; and the King was inclined to have spared his Life; but his wavering Disposition having more than once put the Kingdom into Danger, and his Ingratitude to the best of Fathers, after repeated Forgiveness, leaving no Room for his Uncle to expect better from him; and these Reasons of State being urged by Some sincerely, and by Others to clear a Way for another Interest, his Death was resolved on; and after Sentence pass'd upon him, by Virtue of his Attainder, he was executed on *Tower-Hill* the 13th of *July*, 5 Weeks after the Time of his Landing at *Lyme*. When he was upon the Scaffold, and found that his Submissions were like to be of no Use to him, forgetting the Remorse and Repentance he had express'd in his Letter, he re-assumed the Patriot, and declared he died a Martyr for the People. The Lord *Gray*, who was taken the Day before him, escaped better, and obtained a Pardon; and Sir *John Cockran* receiv'd the like Favour in *Scotland*; which seem'd to confirm the Suspicion of their Treachery.

Thus ended these Rebellions, which made a great Noise Abroad, and raised mighty Expectations; but afterwards had the Fate of all unsuccessful Attempts, and were blamed as rash and ill concerted: But had the Duke been more speedy in his Embarking, which, considering the Prince of *O——e's* mysterious Conduct in this Affair, might perhaps be retarded by his Management;

ment; or afterwards, had he possess'd himself of *Bristol*, as he was advised, which they say he might easily have done, (the Train'd Bands there, being his Friends and openly drinking his Health) he might have furnish'd himself with Men, Arms and Money; and thence marched into *Gloucestershire* among the Gloathiers, where Many of the best Estates and Quality waited to joyn him; and as it was, if the Battle had not decided the Matter, Mr. *Vaughan* of *Somersetshire* would have joined him, the next Day, with 1000 Men; and Colonel *Danvers* and Sir *Robert Peyton* were just ready for a Rising in *Essex*, which would have given Opportunity to their *London* Friends to come to their Assistance: And doubtless (notwithstanding the Care the Government took to secure those who were suspected) there were others as forward in other Places; so that God knows what Blood might have been spilt, and how long these unhappy Kingdoms might have lain under the terrible Calamity of a Civil War: And had he at last succeeded in his Attempt, there is no Question but he would sufficiently have proved his Title, and the Legitimacy of his Birth, (tho' he gave the contrary under his Hand in the Tower, before his Execution) which would have open'd new Scenes of Confusion: But perhaps the Politick Heads of the Party might hope by playing the spurious Branches against the legal, to make Way for the Erection of their old darling Idol, a Commonwealth, which cannot be purchased at too great an Expence of Blood and Desolation.

Tho' Providence had better Things in Store for us; yet the continual Dangers hanging over our Heads from the wicked Practises and Con-

*History of
England,
Vol. 3.*

trivances of this restless *Faction* are not the less visible, most of them, tho' as fairly proved as possible, they have the Front to deny; and this, which was a *Rebellion*, if ever there was such a Thing in the World, even according to their own Definitions, they are so far from having the Modesty to be ashamed of, that it has been since look'd upon as meritorious to have been concern'd in it; and it seems to stand approved in the publick Histories, tho' by what Law Divine or Humane it can be justified, I own my self ignorant.

But they have gone further yet, and in Imitation of their Elder Brothers the *Papists*, have furnish'd out a new Martyrology of those holy Ones, who justly died for Rebellion and Treason; so that they can not only turn Religion into Rebellion, but sanctifie Rebellion into Religion, and by a dash of their Pen, change a pernicious Crew of Rebels and Traytors into a noble Army of Saints and Martyrs. 'Tis great Pity the Highwaymen and Housebreakers cannot do the same Kindness for their poor, suffering, persecuted Brethren!

I have indeed sometimes thought, that in *Jessies* his Western Circuit, Justice went too far, before Mercy was remembered, tho' there was not above a fourth Part executed of what were Convicted; but when I consider in what Manner several of those Lives then spared were afterwards spent, as may be instanced in their late Scribler *Tutchin*, and many others, I cannot but think a little more Hemp might have been usefully imployed on that Occasion.

The

The King's Affairs now seem'd in the greatest Splendour, and to promise a settled Felicity; this dangerous Storm thus happily appeas'd, his greatest apparent Enemies destroy'd, the Parliament and the rest of his Subjects vying in their Loyalty, his Revenue settled, at Peace with all his Neighbours, caress'd by 'em all, and holding the Balance of Europe in his Hand, there was no Prospect, but that he might not only have reign'd happy and beloved at Home, but have effected what he told the Parliament in his second Speech, and have carried the Honour of this Kingdom higher, than it had ever been in the Reign of any of his Ancestors.

It could not, humanly speaking, have been otherwise, had the King stood firm to his own Maxim, That the Laws of England were sufficient to make the King as great a Monarch as he could wish. Had he remembered the say-

ing of *Conrault*, *Qu'un Roy d'Angle-*
terre, qui veut estre l'homme de son
Peuple, est le plus grand Roy du
Monde; mais s'il veut estre quelque
chose d'avantage, par Dieu il n'est
plus rien. Had he observed the dy-

ing Advice of his Brother, (whose great Parts and Abilities he could not but know and value) That he should not think of introducing the Romish Religion in England, it being a Thing both dangerous and impracticable; which his own Observation might have confirm'd before he made the fatal Experiment, the Consequence whereof was dreaded by all the wiser Roman Catholics, both here and abroad; and Ronquillo, the Spanish Ambassador, was so free as to tell Him, That he saw several Priests about him, that

A King of England, who will be the MAN of his People, is the greatest King in the World, but if he will be more — he is Nothing. *T. Memoirs, f. 33.*

he knew would importune him to alter the establish'd Religion in England; but he wish'd his Majesty would not give Ear to their Advice, for if he did, he was afraid his Majesty would have Reason to repent of it, when it was too late: This Liberty it seems, the King took ill, and asked, *If in Spain they did not Advise with their Confessors?* Yes Sir, (answered Ronquillo) we do, and that's the Reason our Affairs go so ill.

But deaf to all these salutary Counsels, and blind to his true Interest, this ill advised Prince was persuaded, That now his Enemies were thus humbled, and his Parliament in so good Humour, he had a fair Opportunity of exerting his Prerogative, and advancing the Interest of his own Religion.

The Parliament met the 9th of November, and the King in his Speech told them, *That after the Storm that seem'd to be coming, he was glad to meet them again in so great Peace and Quietness; but when he reflected what an inconsiderable Number of Men begun the late Rebellion, and how long they carried it on without any Opposition, he hoped, every Body was convinced that the Militia was not sufficient for such Occasions; and that nothing but a good Force of disciplined Troops was sufficient to defend us from Insults at Home or Abroad; therefore he had increased the Number of Forces to what he had done, which he ow'd as well to the Honour, as the Security of the Nation, whose Reputation was so infinitely exposed, by having lain open to that late wretched Attempt. After asking a Supply to support this Charge, he adds, Let no Man take Exception that there are some Officers in the Army not qualified according to the late Tests for their Employment: The Gentlemen, I must tell you, are most*

most of them well known to me, and having formerly served me on several Occasions, and always approved the Loyalty of their Principles by their Practices, I think them now fit to be employ'd under me; and will deal plainly with you, that after having had the Benefit of their Services in such a Time of Need and Danger, I will neither expose them to Disgrace, nor my self to the Want of them, if there should be another Rebellion to make them necessary to me.

At last, he tells them, He was afraid some might be so wicked as to hope that a Difference might happen between him and his Parliament on that Occasion; but considering the great Advantages, had in a short Time risen by a good Understanding between them, of which nothing can hinder a further Progress, but Fears and Jealousies among our Selves, he cannot apprehend any such Misfortune can befall him; or that any Thing can shake them in their Steadiness and Loyalty to him, who by God's Blessing will ever make all Returns of Kindness and Protection, and venture his Life in Defence of the true Interest of the Nation.

According to the Notions the Whiggs pretend to entertain, and endeavour to infuse into the Minds of the People, one would have expected, that this Tory Parliament, which had been so liberal in their Supplies without any Conditions annexed, but relying intirely on his Majesty's Word, and had shewn themselves so zealous in their Endeavours to suppress the late Rebellion, would now have gone on in that liberal confiding Humour, according to their Passive Principles, and have laid their Liberties, Laws and Religion, as an unworthy Oblation, at the Royal Feet of their Sovereign.

But

But these Principles the Whiggs wilfully mistake : This Loyal *House of Commons*, tho' they did not talk of imaginary Original Contracts, but knew that the greatest Part of the Privileges of the *English Subjects* were derived from the Concessions of their Kings ; yet these being made without any Clauses of Revocation, the Subject had a Right in them, of which they look'd upon themselves as the Guardians, who could make no Surrender of any of them, without being guilty of a very great Breach of Trust ; nor could they have so little Concern for the Religion they profess'd, as to part with any of that Barrier, which the Laws had provided for it's Defence : Their Conduct in this Affair will soon discover the true Patriot from the false.

The Dispensing Power and a Standing Army were Points of which the *English Parliaments* had always been very Jealous : These were naturally brought into Debate by the Heads of the King's Speech ; and an Apprehension of the Use, which might be made of both, at that time, by a Prince of King James's Religion, must be expected to add Warmth to the Arguments, which at last concluded in an Address, wherein they return his Majesty their most humble and hearty Thanks for his great Care and Conduct in suppressing the late Rebellion, which threatened the Overthrow of this Government both in Church and State, to the Extripation of the establish'd Religion, which was most dear to them, and which his Majesty had been pleas'd to give them repeated Assurances he would always defend and maintain. That they had with all Duty and Readiness taken into Consideration his Majesty's gracious Speech ; and as to that Part of it, relating to the Officers in the Army not quali-
fied

fied for their Employments, according to the Test Act, they, out of their bounden Duty, did humbly represent to his Majesty, That these Officers could not by Law be capable of their Employments, and that the Incapacities they brought upon themselves that Way, could not be taken off but by an Act of Parliament. Therefore out of that great Duty and Reverence they ow'd to his Majesty, who had been graciously pleased to take Notice of the Services of those Officers, they were preparing a Bill to indemnify them from the Penalties they had incurr'd: And because the continuing them in their Employments might be taken to be a Dispensing with that Law without an Act of Parliament, the Consequence of which was of the greatest Concern to the Rights of all his Majesty's Subjects, and to all the Laws made for the Security of their Religion; they did therefore most humbly beseech his Majesty, that He would be graciously pleased to give such Directions therein, that no Apprehensions of Jealousies might remain in the Hearts of his Majesty's Loyal Subjects.

'Tis said further, That the House of Commons were willing to capacitate, by an Act of Parliament, such a Number of the Roman Catholick Officers as the King should give a List of: They had also voted a Supply of 700,000 l. and had proceeded on Ways and Means for it the Day before the Address was presented, which was the 17th of November: To which the King was pleased to answer, That he did not expect such an Address from them, for having so lately recommended to their Consideration the great Advantages a good Understanding between him and them had produced in a very short Time, and given them Warning of Fears and Jealousies; That he had Rea-

son

son to hope his Reputation would have seal'd and confirm'd a good Confidence in them for him, and of all that he should say to them: But that however they should proceed, he would be steady in all his Promises to them, and be just to his Word in this and all his other Speeches.

This Answer was the next Day read in the House with all due Reverence and Respect: But after a short Pause, a Motion was made that a Day might be appointed to consider it; Mr. Cook seconding the Motion, said, he hoped they were English-Men, and not to be frighted out of their Duty by high Words; which the House so far resented, that they committed him to the Tower for his indecent Speech: But some further Debates arising, they adjourn'd till the 19th, and then, after some Proceedings on the Supply, adjourn'd to the 20th, on which Day they were prorogued to the 10th of February following, but never met again, tho' not dissolved, till the 2d of July 1687.

In this short Sketch appears the true Image of what a *British Parliament* ought to be: You find nothing here of the persecuting Spirit, with which the *Tories* are unjustly taxed by their Adversaries. But upon the News of *Argyle's* Defect, when they had Provocations sufficient to urge it, and perhaps the public Safety in some Measure required it, a Motion being made for an Address, that the Penal Laws might be put in Execution against the Dissenters, it was put by, and it was resolved to acquiesce and rely on his Majesty's Word and Declaration to Support the *Established Religion*. With this generous Confidence

dence were all their Proceedings attended ; they made use of no pretended Fears and Jealousies to detain the *Munimenta Belli* or *Ornamenta Pacis* to force a Compliance to unreasonable Demands ; they were sensible *neither Liberty nor* Part. 1. *Property could subsist where the Rights of the Crown* fol. 83. *were invaded, or the Government brought Low and into Disreputation.* But when they found something aim'd at, which they thought might be made use of to the Prejudice of the Civil and Religious Rights of themselves, and their Fellow-Subjects, they soon made it appear they were no less mindful of their Trust, than of their Allegiance, and with equal Freedom and Submission remonstrated the dangerous Consequences of it ; nor did the cold Reception they then met with, in any Degree chill their Zeal for the King's Service, or lessen their Respect for his Person or Authority, the Want of which they punish'd in that Member, who seem'd to have lost it. This was the Behaviour of that *House of Commons* ; and thus a Majority of the same Principles must always naturally act.

'Tis possible Compassion for the Afflicted may carry me too great a Length : But I confess, I have thus far a charitable Opinion of the Intentions of that unhappy Prince, I believe he did not yet think of Proceeding any further in the Advancement of his own Religion, than to grant those of that Persuasion the free Exercise of their Worship, and restore them to a Capacity of holding Employments, that he might be at Liberty to Use and Reward the Services of such of them, as he thought merited his Favour.

But

But, if he was drawn from his first Resolutions, and his Actions in the Course of his Reign afterwards give any Umbrage of further Designs in View, it was owing to a Treachery unparallel'd by any Instance to be met with in the Records of Time, except that of the Arch-Traytor *Judas*; and in every Circumstance, one excepted, the Villany of this betray'd Prince's perfidious Servant exceeds that of his elder Brother, as much as it falls short in that one, the Treason of *Judas* being a single Act suddenly thought of and executed, and almost as soon repented of; but the other, was a Course of the blackest Treachery and Ingratitude, continued through a Number of Years, and never follow'd by any Marks of Penitence, he and his Party being utter Strangers to every Thing of that Nature.

Part 1,
fol. 102.

The long Intimacy between the Pr---of O---- and some of the Faction here, has been already seen; and with what Intent it was carried on is not difficult to guess: Amongst others, the Earl of *Sund----* entred early into this Commerce, and listd himself into that Prince's Service, for which no one was better qualified. He was cut out by Nature for a Politician, endued with a ready penetrating Wit, an extended Forecast, and a sedate Spleen; he was a close Dissembler of Injuries receiv'd, and a nice Observer as well as a subtil Flatterer of the Failings and Weaknesses of Princes, (two Qualities proper to gain and keep an Ascendant over them;) nor was he clogg'd with the troublesome Incumbrances of Honour or Conscience, which might embarrass the free Exercise of his natural Qualifications.

His

His first Promotion, and the Occasion of his *Ibid.*
 Disgrace, we have met with in the first Part of
 these Papers ; after which, he did not, like some
 other discarded Statesmen of that Party, open-
 ly declare War against the Court, and set the
 Nation in a Blaze ; he had seen the ill Success
 of that in his Friend and Fellow-Labourer *Shaftes-*
bury ; but lying quiet a while, and finding the
 Wind blow hard against his Party, he veer'd his
 Sails to another Point. He dextrously ingra-
 tiates himself with the Favourite Mistress, and
 pretending an Inclination to discover the secret
 Intrigues of the Faction, was, by her Media-
 tion, received again into the King's Favour, by
 whom he was reconciled to the Duke of York,
 re-admitted to his Place in Council, and soon *Jan. 1682*
 after restored to his Office of Secretary, in
 which Station he served both the Brothers, (un-
 doubtedly with equal Fidelity) till about a
 Fortnight after this Prorogation, when he was
 made President of the Council, and became
 Prime Minister of State.

The Ax, which cut of *Monmouth's* Head, had
 made a clear Stage for *Sund---d's* Hero ; that
 dangerous Rival had intirely possess'd the meaner
 Hearts of the Faction, which might now be
 easily center'd in the other ; so that from that
 Action, which seem'd to secure King *James*, and
 quiet his Possession, may be dated his Ruin.

But by the Discovery made of the Strength of
 the different Parties in the late Rebellion, it was
 visible, that whilst the Loyal Sons of the Church
 of *England* stood firm, the Throne was safely
 guarded from the Attacks of all the rest ; and
 as they were too strong to be subdued, their
 constant Fidelity to the Crown and Monarchy,
 founded

founded on their Principles, and confirm'd by a Remembrance of the Wounds they receiv'd in the former Confusions, (which had left deep Scars in most of the considerable Families of them) gave small Hopes of bringing them into any traiterous Designs ; so that another Method was to be taken.

He had by his Arts gain'd an entire Ascendant over the King, and found out his weak Side, who, like most Men naturally honest, was credulous and easy to be perswaded ; but he was also impatient of Opposition, and zealous even to Bigottry in a Religion, as opposite to the Humour as the Interest of his People.

This was as fit a Disposition as could possibly be for *Sund----*'s Purpose ; but as this chief Actor was not able to sustain all the Parts of his Tragi-Comedy himself, his next Care was to chuse such about the King, as might be proper to receive his Impressions, and carry on his Plot, or rather be carryed on by it. The Royal Confort had a great Influence over a too Uxorious Prince, was as great a Bigot as he, and of a haughty ambitious Spirit ; and was doubtless on many Occasions, made subservient to the Designs of this *Machiavel* ; but his chief Engine was Father *Petre*, a light, conceited, proud, daring, ambitious, covetous Priest, a great Dabler in Politics, in which he was always out of his Depth. This Tool, *Sund----* pitch'd on as a fit Vehicle to convey his poison'd Counsels to the King's Ear ; which being always guilded with the specious Pretences of advancing the King's Prerogative and Religion, the vain ignorant Ecclesiastic fondly adopted as his own ; so that the Contriver seem'd only obediently Compliant

pliant in the Furtherance of his own Projects, and had an excellent Opportunity of clearing himself of the Odium.

Thus muffled with Zeal, and under the Conduct of Fools and Knaves, it is no Wonder if the King fell into the Pit his Enemies had dug for him; so that from this Time, almost every Act of his Reign was a Step towards his Ruin.

To effect which, all Efforts were to be used to remove the only Supporters of his Crown; the Loyalty of the Church of *England* was to be unhinged, if possible, to clear a Passage to the Throne; their Services were to be rewarded with Discouragements and Hardships, that the King might be depriv'd of them at his Need; and the Yoak of Government laid so heavy upon their Necks, as should force them at any Rate to endeavour to ease their Condition.

The natural Desire of all Princes to preserve and enlarge their Power, aggravated by the Endeavours in the late Reign to curtail the legal Prerogatives of the Crown, was improv'd, to open a Breach between the King and a Parliament, which would have refused nothing that could have been demanded with Reason, or granted with Safety. The dispensing Power had been twice offer'd at by his Predecessor, who finding it in vain, had wisely receded; but this was now to be insisted on; Members of Parliament were closeted on that Subject, with most of whom neither Frowns nor Promises could prevail to betray their Trust. But if *St. Stephen's Chappel* would not eccho to the King's Voice, *Westminster-Hall* must.

Vide;
Part 1.
fol. 28.

D

Decencies

Decencies Sake, before the Reform begun there, the Pulse of those, who then fill'd the Benches, was first to be tried; but when the Judges were tamper'd with to set up that Power, Sir Thomas Jones, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, (who was the first attempted) boggled at it, and at last plainly told the King, *He could not do it*: Whereupon, the King saying, *He would have Twelve Judges of his own Opinion*; Sir Thomas bluntly replied, *'Twas possible his Majesty might find Twelve Judges, but would hardly find Twelve Lawyers to be so*. For which stubborn Honesty, he and three more were soon after turn'd out to make Room for others of more flexible Consciences; till at length they were so model'd, that Eleven of the Twelve subscrib'd to an Opinion according to the Desire of the Court, which basely gave up all the Laws at once, into the Power of the King.

The establish'd Religion was hereby rendred precarious, as well as the Civil Rights and Liberties of the Subject; and to shew what Use was to be made of this Power, the *Romish* Worship was openly set up, *Jesuit* Schools and Seminaries were erected in *London* and other Places, *Popish* Bishops publickly consecrated, and dispatch'd under the Title of Vicars Apostolical, to exercise their Functions in their respective Diocesses, their Pastoral Letters printed and publish'd with Licence, the regular Clergy appeared in their Habits, and were very diligent in making Profelytes, of whom a mighty Harvest being expected, (that Labourers might not be wanting to get it in) Shoals of Priests and Regulars were daily sent over from beyond Sea.

It was foreseen this would oblige the Clergy of the establish'd Church to take Care of their Flocks, to expose the Errors and Corruptions of the *Papists*, and endeavour to hinder the Infection from spreading in their Congregations : But to exasperate them the more, their Mouths were to be stop'd ; first, by an Order directed to the Bishops to *discharge their Clergy from Preaching upon controverted Points*, for fear of raising Animosities among the People, (as was pretended) and afterwards by an illegal Ecclesiastical Commission, the first Rage of which was vented on that noble Prelate the Bishop of London, on a Pretence of his not having obey'd a Letter from the King, ordering him to suspend Dr. Sharp, then Rector of St. Giles's in the Fields, who now so worthily possesseth the Second Dignity in that Church, for the Defence of which against her Enemies on each Side, his Zeal hath been always eminently Conspicuous in the worst of Times ; and who then had the Courage to vindicate her against the *Papists* in his Sermons, which was taken for a Contempt of the Order about Preachers, and interpreted, as an *Endeavour to alienate the Minds of his Majesty's Subjects, and by insinuating Fears and Jealousies to dispose them to Discontent, and lead them into Disobedience, Faction and Rebellion.*

The Bishop, perceiving what the Court aim'd at in the Letter, endeavour'd to divert the Storm, which threatned not only him, but the whole Church of England, and had written to the Secretary of State to be communicated to the King : *That he thought it his Duty to obey his Majesty in whatsoever Commands he laid upon him, that he could perform with a safe Conscience, But in*

this he was to proceed according to Law, and as a Judge ; and by the Law, no Judge condemns a Man before he has Knowledge of the Cause, and has cited the Party : That however he had acquainted Dr. Sharp with his Majesty's Pleasure, whom he found so ready to give all reasonable Satisfaction, that he made him the Bearer of that Letter.

With this Letter, the Doctor carried a Petition to the King in his own Name ; humbly representing, That ever since his Majesty was pleased to notifie his Displeasure against him, he had forborn the public Exercise of his Function ; That he had always endeavoured to do the best Service he could to his Majesty, and his late Brother, and had not vented any thing in the Pulpit tending to Schism or Faction ; so that he could not but apprehend his Sermons had been much mis-represented. But if any Expressions had unwarily slip'd from him, capable of such Construction as might give Cause of Offence, as he had no ill Intentions, he was sorry for them ; therefore pray'd his Majesty would lay aside his Displeasure conceiv'd against him, and restore him to that Favour which the rest of the Clergy enjoy'd.

Septemb.
1686.

But, all these Submissions were to no Purpose : The Commissioners cited the Bishop before them, and after some Arbitrary Proceedings, judicially Suspended him, for this pretended Disobedience and Contempt ; and the like Sentence was also pass'd on Dr. Sharp, but he was soon after restored to the Exercise of his Ministry.

The Nobility and Gentry must next in a more immediate Manner be made sensible of the Consequences of the Dispensing Power. The King had declared, that Merit should be the only Title to his Favour ; and had advanced several of those great Men, who were most eminent for

for their Loyalty to the Crown, and Affection to the Church of *England*, into the highest Trusts and Employments; amongst which were the two worthy Remains of their wise and honest Father, the Earls of *Clarendon* and *Rochester*: An innate Fidelity to the Crown, and Love to the Constitution both in Church and State, (not to mention the Honour of their Alliance) having always kept these noble Brothers firm to the King's true Interest, and made them zealous in every Thing that tended to promote it, obliged them now as vigorously to oppose these destructive Counsels.

The latter of these had the Treasurer's Staff, and with it deservedly a great Share in the King's Personal Affection; but *Sund--d*, by whom he was as much hated as fear'd, was resolv'd to put him out of the Power of disappointing the villanous Projects then on Foot; the King was unwilling to part with him, and long withstood the Sollicitations of his Enemies; but every thing must give way to Holy Church: His Majesty then endeavoured to bring him over to the *Romish* Religion; and the Lord Treasurer, to shew that his Perseverance did not proceed from Obstinacy, or the Prejudice of Education, comply'd so far as to hear a Conference between Divines on both Sides, in which the *Protestants* had so much the Advantage, that the King himself could not forbear saying, *He never knew a good Cause worse managed, nor a bad one better*: And the Treasurer, who had no need of this to confirm him in his Religion, declaring his Resolution never to forsake it, was soon after oblig'd to resign his Office, which was then put into the

January
1686-7.

Two *Papists*, the Lords *Bellasis* and *Dover*, and the Lord *Godolphin*, and Two other *Protestants*.

The Earl of *Clarendon*, at the King's first Distribution of Preferments, was made Lord *Privy Seal*; and in *Decemb. 1685*. (after the Prorogation of the Parliament) was sent over Lieutenant of *Ireland*; but by *Sund----*'s Management, *Tyrconnel* went Lieutenant General to model the Army for the Purpose, who in that and every Thing else espousing the *Papish* Interest; the Lord Lieutenant always inviolably firm to the *Protestant* Religion, endeavouring to stem the impetuous Torrent of the *Romish* Faction, was made very uneasy by him, which produc'd Complaints on both Sides; and *Tyrconnel* returning to *England*, the Queen, the Earl of *Sund----*, and Father *Petre*, privately made use of all their Interest with the King to remove the Earl of *Clarendon*, of which the Treasurer receiving Intimation both here and from his Brother, he twice inform'd the King of it, who denied that he had any such Intentions, and express'd great Satisfaction in that Earl's Conduct; but by these Seducers was soon after tempted to dismiss him also, *Tyrconnel*, a Man the most odious to the *Protestants* of *Ireland* that could be pick'd out, being rais'd to the Dignity of Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom; and the *Privy Seal*, (which was in Commission during the Earl of *Clarendon*'s Absence) being given to another *Papist*, the Lord *Arundel* of *Wardour*.

March 11.
1686-7.

July,
1686.

This Lord, with the Lords *Powis*, *Bellasis*, *Dover*, and others of that Religion, had some time before been brought into the Council; yet I must do them the Justice to own, that they were far from approving these forward Proceedings; and

and were so sensible of their dangerous Consequences, that some of them desired the King would give them Leave to sell their Estates, and intercede with the *French* King to allow them to settle themselves in his Dominions.

But if the Personal Defects of Princes have found their servil Imitators, the *Mass-house* being now (instead of the Temple of Virtue among the Ancients) the Passage to the Temple of Honour, it is no Wonder if the Lust of Riches and Preferments drew many thither to Sacrifice their Consciences to Avarice or Ambition, and either Really or in Show to embrace the King's Religion. This the Prime Minister had pretended to do, to preserve the Share he had in the Favour and Confidence of the King and Queen, and the Ascendant his cunning and superiour Genius had gain'd over the Confessor; and the better to carry on his Intrigue, he counterfeited a Zeal which out-run their Bigottry, which being imitated by the rest of the Hot-heads and New-Converts, and those who had the Sense and Courage to speak Reason and Truth being laid aside, moderate Counsels look'd like Want of Affection, so that all Things precipitately tended to the designed Confusion.

The Admittance of Papists to Honours and Employments was not confined to the Court and Army; Judges, Lord Lieutenants of Counties and their Deputy Lieutenants, Sheriffs, Justices of the Peace, Mayors of Corporations, &c. were made without any Qualifications or Recommendations, but that of being of a Religion by which they were legally excluded from them.

But

March 1,
1685-7.

April 4.
1687.

But after all, the Papists in this Island were but as a Drop of Water in the *Thames*, and no more able to make Opposition singly to the rest of the Nation, than the Lord *Haversham's* Thumb to stop the Tide at *Gravesend*; the lengthening their Files had made a greater Show, and render'd them more obnoxious, but had added little to their real Strength, therefore the Dissenters were to be called in as Auxiliaries, to lend their helping Hands in the great Work. The Bench of Justices of *Middlesex*, by Direction from Court, desir'd the Earl of *Craven*, their *Custos Rotulorum*, humbly to beseech his Majesty, that the Protestant Justices might have the same Dispensation from taking the Oaths, as he had been pleas'd to grant to the Catholics; to which, a gracious Answer was return'd: And soon after, the King issued this first Declaration for a general Liberty of Conscience to all Persons of what Persuasion soever, dispensing with, and suspending all Laws, Oaths and Penalties to the contrary.

This to the Church-Men seem'd as a dangerous Storm, likely to prove fatal to their Laws and Religion, which made it appear the more like a refreshing Shower to the Dissenters, who were not content to offer up their fulsome Addresses of Thanks for it to their *Jupiter Pluvius*, without insulting those who justly dreaded its Consequences. The Loyal Church of England, which had not only preach'd, but constantly practis'd Obedience in all Things lawful, was now condemn'd as Disloyal and Disobedient, because she could not exceed those Limits; and the Dissenters, who were always Rebels in Speculation, and in Practice, whenever they had Opportunity, were in an Instant become the only good

good Subjects. Those who had signalized their Zeal for the King's Interest by a Course of important Services, both before and since his Accession to the Crown, were turn'd out of their Employments; and the Sticklers for the Exclusion Bill, with the Patriots of *Taunton* and *Tiverton*, were now the fittest Persons to be trusted. And these were so charm'd with the Favours they enjoy'd, that like Lovers in the Beginning of an Amour, (if you would believe their Addresses) Life and Fortune, Laws and Liberties, were all too small a Sacrifice to return; but these Professions were soon found to be too like Lovers Vows, only writ in Sand, and obliterated by the next Gust of Wind, or the next Wave of Water.

In the mean Time Loads of Oppression were laid heavier on the Church of *England*; her Nurseries of Learning, the Universities, were next to bear their Part: The Vice-Chancellor of that of *Cambridge* was by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners suspended, for not breaking his Oath in Obedience to a Mandate from the King, by admitting a *Benedictine* Monk to the Degree of *Master of Arts*, without taking the Oaths appointed.

May 1687.

But *Maudlin College* in *Oxon* was yet more severely handled by this new Inquisition. On the Death of their President, a Mandate was sent down in the Behalf of one *Farmer*, a Fellow of corrupt Manners and loose Principles, and only recommended by his promised Compliance to the Religion in Vogue. The Fellows therefore humbly petition'd the King, That *Farmer* being a Man incapable of that Character by their Founder's Statutes, his Majesty would leave them to the Discharge of their Duty and Consciences, or recom-

April 11.

mend

mend a fitter Person. Their Petition was put into the Hands of the Earl of *Sund---*, who promised to use his Interest in their Favour: But instead of that, honestly concealing the Petition four Days, he return'd the Answer himself, *That the King must be Obey'd*; which being brought down and deliver'd on the last Day of the Time limited by their Statutes for the Election of a President, they were reduced to a Dilemma of forfeiting their Consciences to their Obedience, or hazarding the Consequences of their Disobedience by proceeding to an Election, according to their Oaths and Statutes, which they chose to do, and elected Dr. *Hough*, who was accordingly sworn and admitted President by the Visitor of the College.

April 16.

The Vice-President and Fellows were here-
 June 22. upon cited before the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, (to whom Three new ones were added for this Turn) the new President was depriv'd, and Two of the Fellows suspended; the Fellows of the College being order'd to see the Sentence executed and affixed to the College-Gates, which they refusing to do, were again cited to appear before the Commissioners: But the Court being now ashamed of their Man, the former Mandate was withdrawn, and Dr. *Parker*, Bishop of *Oxon*, recommended; *William Penn*, the *Quaker*, being employ'd as a fit Person to persuade them to a Compliance to what they could not do without a premeditated Perjury. But the new Commissioners giving them another Visit, did, without the Fellows, install a Proxy for the Bishop; and causing the President's Lodgings to be broke open, put him into Possession; after which, tendring a Paper of Submission to the intruding President to be sign'd by the Fellows,
 (who

Aug. 14.

(who could not think him duly elected) it was subscribed only by Mr. Charnock, (who was since executed) and another ; the rest, being 25 in Number, refusing, were deprived and expell'd from their Fellowships, and made incapable of Ecclesiastical Preferment. And thus by a Sentence of an illegal Court were a Society of learned Protestants turn'd out of their Freeholds, to make Room for the Erection of a Popish Seminary.

Nov. 16.

While the Church of England was thus harass'd, the Goshen of the Dissenters was free from these Plagues. They lay Basking at their Ease in the Sun-shine of a Court which had thaw'd all their rigid Humour, and melted them down into a perfect Compliance with their Friends the Papists. They who formerly were Refractory and Disobedient to the Laws, and were for paring the legal Prerogatives of the Crown, as if the Priests had transubstantiated them also, could now carry their Obedience beyond the Laws, and became the Champions of the Dispensing Power. Harry Care, after all his Packets of Advice from Rome, was now better advised, and he and others of them drew their Pens in its Defence ; yet after all they could do to support it, it was thought too weak a Foundation to erect any durable Schemes on ; and the present Condition of these new Allies depending on the uncertain Period of a Life advanced in Years, they could not think themselves Secure, till the Fences, the Legislature had wisely planted to Defend the National Church from all her Adversaries, were pull'd down, and the Penal Laws and Tests abrogated and abolish'd by Parliamentary Authority. This they knew the present Parliament would never agree

July 2.

agree to, and therefore it was thought fit that it should be dissolved.

The Lieutenancies and Commissions of the Peace were new model'd, and put intirely into the Hands of Papists and Dissenters, who used their joint Endeavours, by Threats, Promises, regulating Corporations, and the like, to procure such a House of Commons as should do the King's Business, (as they call'd it) and his Majesty himself took a Progress to the same Purpose. But altho' Multitudes of Addresses were procured to flatter the Court, with Promises of electing such Members, the Church-Party was found to be of that Weight and Resolution, that it was in vain to attempt it. This enraged the Allies, who vented their impotent Malice in peltng the poor Church of England with Showers of malicious Pamphlets, reproaching her with Disloyalty and Disobedience to the King, and a persecuting uncharitable Spirit towards her Neighbours, which were best confuted by not being taken Notice of.

But on the other hand, the Jesuits and Priests pesterng the World with Numbers of Books and Pamphlets in the Behalf of their Religion, the Divines of the Church of England thought themselves obliged to observe a different Conduct towards them. These they answer'd, not with calling the Pope *Whore*, or branding him with the Mark of the Beast in the *Revelations*; but with that Clearness of Argument, Strength of Reason, and Depth of Learning, as shamefully defeated and baffled their Adversaries, and justly gain'd the Esteem of the best Pieces of Controversie, that have been written against the Errors and

and Superstitions of the *Romish* Church, since the Time of the Reformation.

The Approaches towards Popery were still carried on; an Ambassador had been sent to *Rome*, and the Pope's Nuncio had made a publick Entry at *Windsor*: Father *Petre*, who had been for some Time Clerk of the Closet, was by *Sund----*'s Persuasions brought into the Council, against the Inclinations both of the King and Queen, and contrary to the Statutes of the Order of Jesuits, which were now also dispensed with, and made to stoop to the King's Right of making Use of all his Subjects, (which was then the Word in Vogue) but with a Design, in Truth, to hasten the Ruin of that unfortunate Prince.

Yet, the Loyalty of the Church of *England* remain'd unshaken and firm against all the Shocks it had met with. The Members of it resign'd their Places with Chearfulness, when they could no longer keep them with Honour; but retain'd their Duty as inviolable to the King, as their Regard to the Constitution, and enter'd on no unlawful Measures under a Pretence of securing the Laws: They waited with Patience the Meeting of a Parliament; they hoped the King's Eyes might be open'd to discern his true Interest; but at the worst, if they continued Faithful to themselves, the Laws, and their Religion, their Enemies could make no great Progress in his Life-time, and the next Heirs were Protestants, under whom all Things would be again placed on a right Foundation.

But

But when it was Whisper'd about, that the Queen was with Child, and the Report more loudly publish'd by a Proclamation appointing a Thanksgiving for so signal a Blessing, as it must needs fill them with Apprehensions of a further Danger to their Laws and Religion, so on the other Hand, it added a Spirit to the Popish Faction, who might conceive Hopes of effecting that in a Course of Time, which one Reign could not bring to Perfection, and might think themselves more secure from being call'd to Account for their Actions.

April 27.
1688.

This also, upon other Considerations, might make the Chief Engineer of Mischief hasten his Works, and proceed with larger Strides: He found the Attacks upon particular Men, or small Societies, had made but little Impression, therefore a general Assault must be made on the whole Body of the Clergy at once. A Second Declaration of Indulgence was issued, wherein the King declares, *He Hopes for the Concurrence of the next Parliament in that great Work, in Pursuance of which he had been forced to make the many Changes in Civil and Military Employments.* Soon after which, an Order of Council was publish'd, *Enjoyning the Declaration to be read at the usual Time of Divine Service in all Churches and Chappels throughout England and Wales, and ordering the Bishops to cause it to be distributed through their Diocesses to be read accordingly.*

May 4.

This was trying the utmost Stretch of Obedience to make them Accessaries to a Breach of the Laws, by publishing what they thought to be Illegal, or at least highly inconvenient, and which being levell'd at the Interest of themselves and their Religion, they could not either in Reason
or

or Conscience obey, and was putting a Violence upon the Consciences of the King's best Subjects, at the same time when those of all other Men (many of them formerly reputed his Enemies) were freely set at Liberty.

On this emergent Occasion, several of the Bishops and Clergy met at *Lambeth-House*; and after having maturely weigh'd the Consequences on each side, concluded, they could not obey the Order, and resolved to do their Duty and leave the Event to God. But the Bishops, considering the general Calamity likely to follow on the Refusal of their Clergy, and being unwilling to put the Difficulty upon them of complying, to the Prejudice of their Consciences, or refusing, to the Ruin of their Families, did, with a Resolution worthy of their Character, agree to take the Matter upon themselves, and not to distribute the Declaration.

The same Day they drew up a Petition, subscribed by Seven of them, in Behalf of themselves and absent Brethren, and in the Name of the Clergy of their respective Diocesses, shewing That the great Averseness they found in themselves to the distributing and publishing his Majesty's late Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, proceeded neither from any Want of Duty or Obedience to his Majesty, nor yet from any Want of due Tenderneſs to Dissenters, in Relation to whom they were willing to come to such a Temper as should be thought fit, when the Matter should come to be considered in Parliament and Convocation; but among many other Considerations, from this especially, because the Declaration was founded on such a Dispensing Power as had been often declared Illegal in Parliament, and particularly in the Years 1662. and 1672. and in the Beginning

ginning of his Majesty's Reign, and was a Matter of so great Moment and Consequence to the whole Nation, both in Church and State, that they could not in Prudence, Honour or Conscience, so far make themselves Parties to it, as the Distribution of it over the Nation, and the solemn Publication of it in God's House, and in the time of his Divine Service, must amount to, in common and reasonable Constructions, Therefore they did most humbly and earnestly Beseech his Majesty, That he would be graciously pleased not to insist upon their distributing and reading the said Declaration.

This Petition was the same Evening deliver'd to the King by Six of the Bishops, introduced by the Earl of Sund-----d : His Majesty seem'd displeas'd at it, tho' it was so humble in its self, and delivered privately in his Closet, in the most submissive Manner : And the Bishops being afterwards summoned before the Council, and owning the Petition, were required to give Bail to answer that High-Misdemeanor in the King's-Bench ; which they refusing, and insisting on the Priviledge of their Peerage, a Warrant was signed for their Commitment, and they were sent to the Tower ; from whence they were a few Days after brought to the King's-Bench-Bar, and Indicted of a High-Misdemeanor, For having composed and written a false, malicious, pernicious and seditious Libel, under the Pretence of a Petition, and publishing the same in the Presence of the King.

There was a great Appearance at the Tryal, the Fate of the Clergy of England in a great Measure depending on that leading Case : And on this solemn Occasion, and in so publick a Manner, the new assumed Dispensing Power
was

was by the Council for the Bishops, (and especially by One, who was then one of the brightest Ornaments of the Law, and whose Virtues now add a Lustre to the Coronet he wears) learnedly and boldly argued and demonstrated to be a Violation of the Laws and Constitution of the Kingdom: And it is remarkable, That Sir *William Williams*, the Oracle of the *Whigs*, and Speaker of the two last Parliaments of King *Charles II.* who were so full of Fears of Popery and Arbitrary Power, when there was no Occasion, was now Solicitor General, and carried the Prosecution as high as possible, against those who made this noble Stand against both, in a Time of so great Danger, openly boasting, that he had tack'd about, and taught others to do so too.

After a long Tryal, these reverend Criminals were acquitted, the News of which was received with the highest Expressions of Joy, throughout the whole Kingdom: Nor could the King's Presence prevent his Army, which was then encamp'd on *Hounslow-Heath*, from mixing their loud Acclamations with the rest. Neither was this the only Mortification he met with there; it was propos'd to make a Trial of their Inclinations, that they should subscribe a Writing, to engage themselves as far as in them lay, to endeavour the Repeal of the Penal Laws and Tests; to procure which Subscription the more easily, it was to be offer'd to each Regiment singly; and the Earl of *Litchfield's* Regiment being one of those of which they had the greatest Hopes, the Major was order'd to open his Majesty's Desire to them, and to command such as would not comply, to lay down
E their

their Arms; which last Command (to the King's great Surprise) was obey'd by almost the whole Regiment; so that finding this Endeavour to be vain, it stop'd here, and those who had laid down their Arms, were order'd to take them up again.

The Temper of the Sea-Forces had been discover'd on a Celebration of the Mass on Board some of the King's Ships; which caus'd such an Uproar and Mutiny in the Fleet, that the Officers had much ado to keep the Priests from being made a Sacrifice to *Neptune*. So that had the King's Eyes or Ears been open to any Thing but those who were leading him on to his Destruction, these Warnings might have been sufficient to have prevented his Fate.

June 10.

While the Bishops were in the *Tower*, the Hopes of the *Roman* Catholicks were crown'd with the Birth of a presumptive Successor to the Crown: Whether the Pregnancy and Delivery of the Queen were real or feign'd is far above me to determine: The Convention, which went professedly on an Examination of that Affair, having thought fit to leave it undecided. But as it was the Interest of the *Papists* to have a *P. of Wales*, it was certainly the Interest of some others soon after, to decry him as an Impostor, which occasion'd the Depositions in Council, whereby that Birth stands confirm'd, with better Attestations, than can perhaps be produc'd in Favour of most other Princes: But be the Truth of that Matter as it will, it was attended with the same real Consequences; all the foreign Princes and States paid their Compliments on that Occasion; amongst the rest, Monsieur *Zulestyn* was sent from the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, to make

make their Congratulations, and the P. of *Wales* was prayed for in their Chappel; (nor is there any Doubt but they had good Intelligence in the *English* Court, and a right Information of the Truth of that Affair) the *Dissenters* renew'd their Addresses, and all Men according to their different Interests and Dispositions, were possess'd with the same real Hopes and Apprehensions.

The last fatal Order upon the Clergy was a Shaft out of the Quiver of the dissenting Parsons, who propos'd it as the likeliest Way to procure a Parliament to the Humour of the Court; but with a Design to improve the Misunderstanding between the King and the *Church of England* to their own Advantage, and perhaps not without a squinting Look towards some convenient Benefices and Preferments, which were likely to become vacant on the Suspension or Deprivation of the recusant Incumbents.

This Fate might have involved almost all the Clergy of the National Church; for tho' it is not to be supposed, but among so great a Body of Men, there were some false Brethren, who being blinded by Court Holy-Water thrown in their Eyes, could not or would not see, that the Church was even then in any Danger; and others, that through Weakness or Fear, might be bent to a Compliance: Yet the Number of those who read the Declaration was very inconsiderable, and the rest were to be deliver'd over to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, who had suspended *Dr. Hawkins* for his Refusal, while the Affair of the Bishops was depending; and afterwards issued Orders to the *Chancellors, Archdeacons, &c.* to return to them the Names of those

Orleans
Hist. fol.
299.

who had obey'd or disobey'd his Majesty's Command, in order to a severe Prosecution of the latter.

The legal Ramparts of the establish'd Church being thus dismantled and level'd by the Dispensing Power, the Ecclesiastical Possessions at the Arbitrary Disposal of an illegal Judicature, and the civil Rights and Properties of the Subject, in almost as precarious a Condition, the Aspect of Affairs was melancholly enough; but it was render'd yet more dismal by the most glaring and frightful Colours and Representations that could be put upon it, by the Emissaries of our Politician and others who were admitted into the Secret: So that the dangerous tottering Condition both of the Church and State seem'd to require a speedy and a strong Support to prevent their sudden Ruin; and what *Hercules* was so able to prop the Weight of a sinking Nation, as the Prince of *Orange*?

Orleans
Hist. fol.
295.

Hist. W. 3.
Vol. I.
fol. 309.

Ibid.

Since the Quelling of *Monmouth's* Rebellion, that Prince had all along entertain'd a very friendly Correspondence with the King, omitting no Respect due to a Father-in-Law, nor any outward Profession of Zeal for his Service: But sudden Alterations are seldom real; he still pursued his Chase, tho' in a more covert Manner, even from that Time. Thus the Business of Monsieur *Dickvelt* here, in that Year, was not only to renew the Alliances between *England* and the States, but to keep on Foot the old Intrigues with the *Whiggs*, and confer with them about the Prosecution of the Grand Affair, which it is probable then took the Turn we have seen pursued by *Sund-----d*: And one who was as deep in the Plot as any Body, has lately inform'd us, That in the Year 1686, and afterwards,

wards, the Prince was more than once desired from hence, to break with King *James*; which small Sparks are sufficient to discover what Fire lay all the while latent in the Bowels of the Nation, and was only hindred from breaking out sooner by reason the Church-Party was not yet in a fit Temper to catch the Inflammation.

Vide
Bishop of
Sarum's
Speech on
Sacheve-
rel's Trial.

This Unaptness owing to the Loyalty of their Principles, was increased by a mutual Diffidence between them and the *Prince*, who being a *Latitudinarian* in Opinion, and a *Calvinist* in Profession, and holding so strict a Correspondence with those, they had no Reason to think their Friends, his Kindness to them was not much to be relied on; and on the other Hand, the *Prince* was possess'd by the *Whigs*, that the *Churchmen* were not only Favourers of *Papery* and *Arbitrary Power*, which might have been Pardonable with him, but which was equally true, that they were devoted to a *French* Interest, and consequently incompatible with his Designs.

Which Designs of his, being yet beyond the Compass of a Possibility of succeeding without their Concurrence, we have seen the Methods taken to loosen their Duty and Affection to the King; and in the latter End of the Year 1687. an Opportunity was given to the Prince to fix their Eyes upon him. The King's earnest Desire to repeal the Penal Laws and Tests, opening his Ear to every Proposal he thought tending to that End, among the rest it was advised to sound the Inclinations of the Prince and Princess of *Orange*, the Opinion of the presumptive Heirs of the Crown being likely to be of great Weight, and the late complacent Carriage of the *Prince*, with his known Aversion to Restrain upon Conscience

V. Fagel's
Letter.

giving great Hopes of a Compliance. To this End Mr. James Stuart, (who had been concern'd with Argyle, but was then pardon'd, and since knighted by King William) was employ'd to write to the Pensioner Fagel, who return'd an Answer, That their Highnesses did approve that the Dissenters should have an entire Liberty of Conscience for the Exercise of their Religion, and the Papists as much as was allow'd in those Provinces, but could not consent to a Repeal of the Law, which had been made for the Security of the Religion here established, such a Repeal being a Thing contrary to the Laws and Customs of all Christian States, whether Protestant or Papist, who admit none to a Share in the Government, or to publick Employments, but those who profess the establish'd Religion.

Abr. of
Baxter's
Life. f. 636

The Manna was not more welcom in the Desert, than this Letter, at that difficult Juncture. The Church-Party began to look upon the Prince as their own, and Monsieur Fagel expressing how earnestly desirous their Highnesses were of a good Understanding between his Majesty and his Subjects, some of them innocently sent a Message to the Prince, intreating him to use all his Interest with the Dissenters to hinder them from running into the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience: But alas! That had been the Way to prevent a Revolution, there had been no need of that if they would have follow'd the Advice of the Marquis of Halifax.

Letter to a
Dissenter.

'Let us (says that great Statesman) be still quiet and undivided, firm at the same Time to our Religion, our Loyalty, and our Laws; and so long as we continue in this Method, it is next to impossible, that the odds of Two
hundred

‘ hundred to One should lose the Bett, except
 ‘ the Church of *Rome*, which hath been so long
 ‘ Barren of Miracles, shou’d now, in her de-
 ‘ clining Age, be brought to Bed of One, that
 ‘ would out-do the best she can brag of in her
 ‘ Legend.

But a Revolution in *England* was become of
 absolute Necessity; if not to us, at least, to some
 of our Neighbours. The vast Scheme of ma-
 king *France* the Seat of an universal Monarchy,
 which had been laid by Cardinal *Richlieu*, and
 pursued by *Mazarine*, was so successfully prose-
 cuted afterwards, that the Arms of that Coun-
 try had for many Years been the Terror of
Europe, and without the Assistance of *England*
 there was no resisting their Progress. *Cromwell*
 was able to have nip’d the Design in the Bud,
 but thro’ a Mistake in Politics help’d to advance
 it. *Charles II.* was willing to have drawn his
 Sword in the Defence of *Flanders*, but his Hands
 were tied by the Faction, and he chose another
 Method as the lesser Evil: And King *James*, on
 divers Considerations, refused to enter into any
 Alliance to the Interruption of the Peace these
 Parts of *Europe* enjoy’d in his Reign.

But the Peace, being by others, and perhaps
 justly, look’d upon to be precarious, and like to
 continue only till the *French* had an Inclination
 to break it, they thought an honourable War
 more eligible, at least it was but Prudence to
 enter upon Measures for their common Safety in
 Case of a Rupture.

The Prince of *Orange* was always at the Head
 of the most forward of these Counsels: To him
 Ease was tedious, and Inactivity like a State of
 Death.

Death. *Belona* was his Mistress, a Camp his only Scene of Pleasure, and the dismal Confusion of the Cannons Roar, the Trumpets Clangor, the Rattle of the Drum, and the Groans of dying Men, was the most grateful Consort to his Ear: But from the Situation of Affairs in his Time, he had this peculiar Felicity, That the Effects of a restless Temper, and an unbounded Ambition, seem'd the Result of Necessity more than Choice; and the glorious Pretexts of restoring the Ballance of Power and the ravish'd Liberties of oppress'd Nations, gave a beautiful Varnish to all his Undertakings.

At his first Appearance in the World, and under very disadvantageous Circumstances, he had bravely put a Check to the rapid Course of the Conquests of *France*, and with wonderful Courage and Constancy carried on the War till it concluded in the Peace of *Nimuegen*; after which he had been the chief Instrument in forming the *League of Aushurg* for the Defence of the Empire: But all the Confederacies that could be made were too Light without the Weight of *England* in the Scale, and without her Strength an unequal Match for the Power of *France*, then in its most flourishing Condition, abounding in Riches and Plenty, numerous gallant Troops and experienced Officers, all at the absolute Command of a Prince, as well qualified for great Achievements as ever sat upon that Throne.

The *Empire* was a large Body, and seem'd robust and nervous, but was very feeble in the Joints, the bulky Limbs being ill compacted by a fundamental Error in its Constitution.

Spain

Spain had for almost a Century of Years, languish'd under a gradual consumptive Decay, and Holland, tho' healthy and vigorous, yet was unable to defend herself without better Seconds; so that all the Efforts of the Prince of Orange were by himself rightly compared to those of a weak Sculler against an Eddy.

T. Mem.

Fol. 222.

An impatient Sense of the Difficulties he had to struggle with, and an Ambition of making a Figure at the Head of a Force sufficient to curb the growing Power of France, and snatch the Laurels from that Monarch's Brow, set a keener Edge on his Appetite to the English Crown, which a Concurrence of Circumstances both here and abroad, now conspir'd to place upon his Head.

The Death of the Elector of Cologne happen'd about the Time of the Birth of the Prince of Wales, and the Competition about a new Election, with the Umbrage taken at the fortifying of Traerbach by the French, seem'd necessarily to draw on a War, which King James having refused to engage in, the Proposals of the Prince of Orange (alleged to be meant only to bring the English into a Confederacy against France) were the more readily hearken'd to: It was this which set the Roman Court in Opposition to the Church of Rome, made the Pope and the House of Austria concur in securing the Protestant Religion in England, and induced Sovereign Princes to encourage the Expulsion of a Brother Sovereign by his own Subjects.

Men in Pain are apt to loose their deliberative Faculties, and blindly to follow the Prescriptions of any bold Empire that gives Affu-

rance

rance of Ease. In this Distemper of the Nation it was not strange that those who had a serious Concern for the Welfare of the Constitution, which seem'd now, if not dissolved, at least in great Danger of Dissolution, should be prevail'd with to submit to a Method of Cure : But the Depth of the Secret was concealed from them, the Stomachs of these Babes were not able to digest the strong Doctrines of deposing Kings, so they were to be fed with Milk, there was no Harm meant to the King, God forbid ! But there being no Hopes of preventing the Ruin of the Kingdom, but by a free *Parliament*, nor any obtaining that, as Affairs then stood, the Prince was to come and put all Things in Order ; and when the House was swept clean, he, it seems, was to be set by, like a Broom behind the Door.

Thus might some who meant honestly be drawn into an Invitation of the Prince of *Orange*, who finding the Conjunction favourable to his Designs, hasten'd his Preparations with greater Diligence, which could not be done with that Secrecy, but the King had sufficient Notice of them, and that they were design'd against him : Of this he had repeated Advices from his Envoy at the *Hague*, from Mr. *Skelton* then at *Paris*, and from the *French King*. Some of them, *Sund--* conceal'd, and others, by his Management were but slightly taken Notice of ; and when *Skelton's* Vexation at the supine Neglect here, and his Zeal for his Master's Service, had made him advise, as the best Method to ward the Blow, That the *French King* should threaten to attack the *States* in Case of any Attempt from thence upon his Friend and Ally King *James*, (which put them

them to a Stand) the *French* Memorial was dis-
own'd here for Fear of disobliging the *Dutch*;
and the Prime Minister procured *Skelton* to be
sent for Home, and committed to the *Tower*, for his
over Officiousness. In the mean time, the States
publickly denying any Intention of a War against
the King, who being also positively assured both
by *Ronquillo* the *Spanish* Ambassador, and *Van*
Citters, the *Dutch* Minister here, That the De-
sign of this Armament was not against any Part
of his Majesty's Dominions,) with Intimation
that perhaps *France* it self had more Reason to be
alarm'd) and being deceived by the Prince of
Orange's fair Carriage, and perswaded that the
Condition and Strength of his Forces both by
Sea and Land were more than sufficient to secure
him from any Invasion from thence, he too long
neglected those Measures he might have taken
for his Safety and Defence.

Thus was that easie Prince betray'd, and thus
that perfidious Wretch *Sund--d* drew up one
End of the Saw, while his Understrappers pull'd
down the other: Whilst he advis'd those Methods
which were used to bring the Church of *England*
into Extremities of Tryal and Disrepute, others
were employ'd underhand to animate the Re-
sentments of their hard Usage: Whilst the Pas-
sions of the Subject were blow'd that they were
ready to kindle into a Flame, the Prince's Eyes
were blinded that he might not discover the
Smoke: Whilst some Engines were employ'd to
debauch the Fleets and Armies, others were to
advise a Reliance on their Fidelity: When some
were diligent to rouse the King's Enemies to
his Destruction, others were as busie rocking
him into a Security; and as some were levelling
the

the Roads for the March of a foreign Army into their Native Country, others were laying Difficulties in his Way, and cutting off all his Means of Defence,

At Length, the Eyes of the deluded *King* were open'd and he awaked out of his flattering Dreams: He saw through the Perfidy of his Prime Minister, and discharged him from his Employments; and finding himself at the Brink of an inevitable Precipice of Destruction, offered to tread backwards those Steps which had led him to it; but this was construed to proceed from Weakness and Pusillanimity, and only changed the Terrour of his People into Contempt.

It was now too late, the Infection was too far spread, some being moved by Love to their Country, others by Discontent, and the common People frightened out of their Wits with terrible Stories of *Popish* Cruelties, *French* Leagues and Invasions, with consecrated Knives, Grid-irons and Cauldrons, invented to amuse and distract them, and alienate their Duty and Affection from their Sovereign. As to the Whigs and Dissenters, they were sure Cards at such a Game; their late outward Transformation had not changed their Nature, but old *Puff* resumed her Shape at the Sight of a *Mouſe*; nor could all the Favours they had received, so far alter their Manners, as to make them either Grateful or Loyal; so that there was an universal Inclination towards the Enterprize of the Prince of *Orange*, with whom divers of the Nobility, who had gone over Sea on several Pretences, and many of those Outlaws, concern'd in the former Treasons, having joynd themselves and

and all Things being ready for his Reception here, he embark'd his Troops, to the Number of about 14000, and after some Tossing on the Sea, landed at Torbay, the 5th of November 1688.

Here had been no Complaints made, nor any Demands of Satisfaction, as generally is, and ought to be done before a Recourse to Arms. But when the Prince of Orange was ready to put his Foot in the Stirrup, he publish'd a Declaration, *Enumerating the Grievances of the English Nation, by the Exercise of the Dispensing Power, the preferring Papists to publick Trusts, the Ecclesiastical Commission, the Affair of the Bishops, and other Matters tending to the Overthrow of Religion, and the Laws and Liberties of these Kingdoms, which had been done by the Advice of Evil Councillors, of whom, One had openly turn'd to the Profession of the Romish Religion; that the same evil Councillors, the better to carry on their ill Designs, had published, that the Queen had brought forth a Son, tho' there were great Suspicions that the Pretended P. of Wales was not born by the Queen; that he and his Consort having so great an Interest in this Matter, and a Right to the Succession of the Crown, and being solicited by many Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and other Subjects of all Ranks, he thought fit to go over to England, with a Force sufficient to defend him from the Violence of those Evil Councillors, which Expedition was intended for no other Design, but to have a free and lawful Parliament assembled; that in Order to this, the Charters should be restored, and none to elect or be elected Members, but such as were legally qualified; that the Parliament so chosen should Sit, and the Two Houses concur in preparing*

v. Declaration.

Preparing such Laws, as upon a free Debate, should be judg'd necessary and convenient, for confirming and executing the Law concerning the Test, and other Laws, for the Security of the Protestant Religion, and establishing a good Agreement between the Church of England and Protestant Dissenters, and doing all other Things they should find necessary for the Peace, Honour and Safety of the Nation, and to prevent the Danger of ever falling again under Arbitrary Power; and to this Parliament was to be referr'd the Enquiry into the Birth of the pretended P. of Wales, and all Things relating to it, and to the Right of Succession; That he would concur with whatsoever they should determine, for the Good of the Nation, having Nothing before his Eyes, but the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, and the Security of the Laws and Liberties, under a just and legal Government: That his foreign Forces should be kept under strict Discipline, and sent back as soon as the State of the Nation would admit of it, inviting all good English Men to assist him in preventing those Miseries which must needs follow upon their being kept under Arbitrary Government and Slavery.

But about the Date of the Declaration, the King, having at the Request of the Bishops, redressed the Grievances complain'd of, omitting nothing that could be thought proper to remove Jealousies and quiet Discontents, this Declaration was in a Manner render'd ineffectual; therefore an Addition was thought fit to be made to it, wherein is set forth: That the late imperfect Redress proceeded from Fear, and was a plain Confession of the Violences of the Government, but nothing was laid down but what they might take up again at Pleasure;

sure ; and that there could be no effectual Remedy but in a free and lawful Parliament.

And whereas it was given out that he intended to Conquer and Enslave the Nation, he hoped no Person could have such hard Thoughts of him, as to imagine, that he had any other Design than to procure a Settlement of Religion, and the Liberties and Properties of the Subject upon a sure Foundation ; and as the Forces he had brought were utterly disproportionate to the wicked Design of conquering the Nation, if he were capable of intending it ; so the Numbers of those of Quality, Estates and Integrity who accompanied or invited him, were sufficient to cover him from such malicious Insinuations ; for it was not to be thought they could join in a wicked Attempt of Conquest, to make void their own Titles to their Honours and Estates.

Altho' the Prince of Orange landed in the most factious Part of England, the Smart that People had lately felt having render'd them more cautious, the first Nine Days gave him small Encouragement, which put him into those melancholly Apprehensions of the Success of his Expedition, that it was proposed in a Council of War to re-imbark for Holland. But by this Time, he was join'd at Exeter by considerable Numbers of the Gentlemen of Dorsetshire and Somersetshire ; which Example was soon follow'd by others of greater Note: The Contagion spread it self in the Army, and the Lord Cornbury, Lord Colchester, and others, with such as would follow them, deserted, and led the Way to the Dutch Camp.

This

This Defection was a great Surprize to the Court, insomuch, that the Troops, Equipage, and Artillery, which were moving towards Salisbury, where the King intended to encamp, had Orders to stop their March; but it was afterwards thought necessary, that his Majesty should hasten his Departure, that if it was possible, his Presence might confirm those in their Duty, who begun to stagger.

Before he set out, he assembled several of the Officers, who were then in Town, among whom were the Duke of Grafton, the Lord Churchill, Trelawney, Kirk, and others, acquainting them with his Resolutions of calling a Parliament as soon as the Condition of Affairs would permit, and of doing every Thing in his Power to quiet the Minds of his People, by securing their Religion and Liberties, generously concluding as follows: But if after all this, any of you is not satisfied, let him declare himself: I am willing to grant Passes to such as have a Mind to go to the P. of Orange, and spare 'em the Shame of deserting their lawful Sovereign.

Hist. W. 3.
Vol. 1.
fol. 360.

Had there been a Spark of Honour in any Cranny of their Souls, this would have kindled it: Nor could they be so far Proof against it, but this Frankness of his Majesty drew Protestations from them, of their Readiness to die in his Service, which were lost by the Way; for no sooner were they arriv'd at Salisbury, but they follow'd Cornbury's Rout; and one of them, whom the King had raised to Honour, and loaded with Favours, in a more distinguishing Manner than any other of his Subjects, as if he had an Ambition to excel in Ingratitude as much as in every Thing else, not content with debauching the

the Army, and basely deserting his kind Master; is said to have laid a Plot to seize him, in order to make a Present of him at *Exeter*, which was prevented by his Majesty's bleeding at the Nose, as he was going to *Warminster*, the most advanced Post of his Army, from whence he was to have been carried off. Orlean's
Hist. fol.
312.

The Nearness of *Exeter* heightning the Temptation of those who had a Mind to desert, his Majesty thought fit to march his Army towards *London* to secure the Capital ; but he now found that he was betray'd by most of the great Officers in his Army, many of those he had the least Reason to mistrust, dropping from him by the Way and going to the Prince : It must needs make a great Distraction among the Forces, when no one knew how his Right Hand Man stood affected, so that they begun to disperse ; and besides the Defection of the Army, there were several Insurrections in divers Parts of the Kingdom headed by several Noblemen, who had secur'd such Posts as they thought convenient, and declar'd openly for the Prince of *Orange* and a free Parliament,

The Truth is, they were so far engag'd, that there was no retreating ; there was a Foreign Army in the Bowels of the Nation, and to have assisted *K. James* in repelling those who came with so fair Pretences, had been lending him their Hands in pulling down the Laws and Constitution, of which that Conquest would have made him absolute Master : On the other Side, had there been any equal Balance of Parties, they would each have call'd in the Assistance of their Friends, whereby this Country had been made the Stage, on which the contending Powers of

Europe had disputed their Quarrel, and we might, at this Day, have vied with *Poland* in the happy Enjoyment of our Rights and Liberties.

Hist. W. 3. As soon as the *King* arriv'd at *London* he summon'd together several of the Nobility, who had
Vol. 1. 369. not yet declared, by whom it was advis'd as the best Means to put a Stop to the growing Evil, that a Parliament should be speedily call'd, and Commissioners appointed to treat of an Accommodation with the Prince of *Orange*.

Nov. 29.

His Majesty was not in a Condition to refuse any Proposal tending to prevent Extremities: A Parliament which would freely consider the Interest of the King and Subject, with an impartial Regard to both, was not likely to be had at that Time; and what was call'd a free Parliament he had just Reason to apprehend would be more free with his Concerns than he could desire: However Writs were issu'd out for that Purpose, and three Lords were deputed to treat with the Prince of *Orange*, about a Suspension of Arms, and what else might reasonably tend to an Accommodation.

His Highness must have had a very passionate Love for the People of *England*, to have been at so great Expence and Trouble, Only to secure their Liberties, which was all that was hitherto own'd either by him, or any of those who had declar'd or acted in Favour of his Undertaking. But his Conduct, from this Time, gave too much Reason to suspect, that he look'd at Something further: He did not think fit to unmask himself so far as to refuse a Treaty, knowing well enough how to render it fruitless; he therefore granted Passes to the Commissioners, who were to wait upon him at *Ambresbury*, on the 6th of
Ibid. 376. Decem-

December, instead of which they were afterwards order'd to send their Proposals in Writing, which was justly look'd upon as a Slight, but was however complied with; the Substance of them being, That his Highness seeming to refer all Things to a Parliament, the King had issued Writs for that Purpose, and was ready to consent to every Thing reasonable, for the Security of those which should come to it, and to enter into a Treaty for adjusting all Matters necessary for the Freedom of Elections and the Security of Sitting; proposing, that in the mean Time the respective Armies should remain at such a Distance from London, as might prevent Apprehensions that the Parliament might be disturb'd, being desirous the Meeting should be no longer delay'd, than by the usual and necessary Forms.

This would not do the Prince's Business: A Parliament might have bounded the Prerogative, but continued the King on the Throne, under such Restrictions as might have secur'd the Laws and Religion of the Kingdom from any future Inundation; whereas he wanted the Crown it self, and did not like it the worse for being invested with all its Powers: His Highness therefore continued his March towards London, and the Lords were not admitted to deliver their Proposals till the 8th, at Hungerford, whereto they had an Answer the next Day at Littlecot, which, tho' not so impossible to be complied with, as some late Preliminary Articles to a Treaty of Peace, yet was such, as being sent to the King, he could not but think unreasonable, and having also received Advice from one of his Commissioners of the Hopelessness of this Negotiation, and the Danger to which his Person might be liable in any Part of this Kingdom, he

Dec. 10.

Dec. 12.

thought fit to give Way to the Rigour of his Misfortunes and seek a foreign Sanctuary. His first Care was to provide for the Safety of his *Queen* and *Son*; after which giving out that he intended to return to his Army and fight the *Dutch*, his Life-Guards were order'd to be ready to attend him to *Uxbridge*; but instead of going that Way, his Majesty took Water at the Privy-Stairs of *Whitehall* about two in the Morning, accompany'd only by *Sir Edward Hales* and two more, without communicating his Design to any other of his greatest Confidants, and having cross'd the River, went by Land to a Place near *Feversham*, where with his small Retinue he embark'd on a Smack, which was to carry him to a Frigate that lay waiting at *Margate*: But the Weather being stormy, and the Vessel wanting Ballast, while the Seamen were employ'd in bringing it in, she was discover'd and boarded by the Fishermen, Sailors and Freebooters thereabout, who made it their Business, at that Time, to stop such as the Hopes of Plunder tempted them to suspect as Papists. *Sir Edward Hales* was well known, and the *King* having on a black Suit and a bob Wig, and being taken for a Priest, had such vile Indignities put upon him by the Rascality, as are not fit to be mention'd, and was robb'd of his Money and Jewels, which being considerable, he was suspected to be different from what he appear'd, and was soon after distinguished thro' his Disguise, by one, who falling at his Feet beg'd his Majesty would forgive the Rudeness of the unruly Mob, and order'd what had been taken from him to be restor'd; but the *King* took only the Jewels, giving the Gold among

among them: After this the Respects due to his Person were outwardly paid, but not being suffer'd to make his Escape, as he endeavour'd, his Majesty sent for the Earl of Winchelsea, by whom he was persuaded not to leave the Kingdom.

To prevent, or at least delay the Meeting of Parliament in his Absence, the Writs not sent out had been burnt, and a Caveat enter'd against making Use of those which were gone; and that the Broad Seal might not be apply'd to the like Purposes, it was thrown into the Thames. On the other Hand, to save the Effusion of Blood, the King before he went from Whitehall had left a Letter for the Earl of Feversham, telling him, *That things being come to that Extremity, he had been forced to send away the Queen and his Son, that they might not fall into the Enemies Hands; that he was oblig'd to do the same thing, hoping it would please God, out of his infinite Mercy to this unhappy Nation, to touch their Hearts again with true Loyalty and Honour: That if he could have rely'd on his Troops he might not have been put to the Extremity he was in, and would at least have had one Blow for it; but tho' he knew there were many brave Men among them, yet the Earl knew likewise that both he and several others told him it was no ways adviseable to venture himself at their Head, or to think of fighting the Prince with them; That now there remain'd only for him to thank the Earl and those who had stuck to him, and been truly Loyal, hoping they would still retain their Fidelity, and tho' he did not expect they should expose themselves by resisting a Foreign Army and a poison'd Nation, yet he hoped their former Principles were so*

rooted in them, that they would keep themselves free from Associations, and such pernicious Things.

This Letter the Earl received at *Uxbridge* the next Morning, and read it aloud to the Troops, which drew Tears from most of them, and a Council of War being thereupon called, it was concluded, That since the King did not expect they should resist a Foreign Army, his Intention was, that the Remains of the Forces (now reduc'd to about 4000) should be disbanded, which was immediately done, and Notice of it sent to the Prince of Orange.

By the King's retiring, the People being left like Sheep without a Shepherd, about thirty of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, assembled at *Guildhall*, and the Citizens being under some Apprehensions from the Tower, they sent for Col. *Skelton*, whom the King had lately made Lieutenant of that Fortress (where just before he had been Prisoner) and demanding of him the Keys, they were peaceably surrender'd, and deliver'd to the Lord *Lucas*; they also sign'd a Declaration purporting their Intentions to endeavour to preserve Peace and Tranquillity in this great City and Suburbs, and their Readiness to promote his Highness's generous Intentions for the Public Good: Which Declaration, with an Address from the City and Lieutenancy, to compliment the Prince and invite him to London, were sent to him, who was now advanc'd as far as *Henly* upon *Thames*.

In this Interval, Anarchy appear'd in its natural Form of Confusion; the Popish Chappels and the Houses of Foreign Ambassadors and other Roman Catholics were demolish'd, burnt and plunder'd, and all the Nation set in an Up-roar by the ridiculous Alarm of an *Irish Army* drop'd

drop'd out of the Clouds to cut all their Throats in one Night.

In the midst of these Hurly Burlies arrives the News of the Adventure at *Feverham*, which was variously received : The Generality were glad of an Opportunity of convincing his Majesty they had no ill Design against his Person ; but the late Advances made to the Prince of *Orange* did something perplex the Lords ; However after some Debates, they not having yet penetrated into the Depth of his Highness's Designs, but honestly believing that Expedients might yet be found out to heal the Wounds of the Nation without taking off its Head, the Earl of *Feverham*, and three other Peers, well affected to his Majesty, were sent with his Coaches and Guards to wait on him, and desire his Return to *Whitehall* ; and an Express was dispatch'd to the Prince of *Orange*, who was then arriv'd at *Windsor*, to acquaint him that his Majesty was yet in *England*, and that he was again expected at his Palace.

This News startled the Prince ; he wanted to be rid of the *King*, rather that Way than any other, and therefore could not be well pleas'd with the Officiousness either of those who stop'd him, or those who invited him back : To prevent his Return he immediately sends *Zulestein* away with an Order, in a Stile suitable to his Success, to desire the *King* not to return nearer *London* than *Rocheſter* ; but this Express missing his Way, and his Majesty, tho' with some Reluctance, having been prevail'd with to return, by Arguments drawn from an Assurance of the Affections of great Numbers of his People of all Degrees, and the vain Hopes of an

Dec. 16.

amicable Composure; and the Men of *Kent*, who it seems were grown very fond of him, being prevail'd with to let him go, he set forward for *London*, and leaving *Rochester* on Sunday Morning, came thro' the City about four in the Afternoon, and went to *Whitehall*, attended with divers of the Nobility and vast Crowds of People, who welcom'd him with all the Demonstrations of Joy, Loyalty and Affection that could have been express'd in the Zenith of his Prosperity.

Ibid. 391.

That nothing might be wanting on his Part, the Night before he left *Rochester* he dispatch'd the Earl of *Feversham* with a Letter to the Prince to invite him to *St. James's*, with what Number of Guards and Troops he should think convenient, that they might amicably confer together, about the Means of Redressing the Publick Grievances, which Letter was deliver'd on Sunday Morning at *Windsor*; but his Highness was so far from treating, or desiring a personal Interview, and being enrag'd at the King's Return, in which the Earl had so great a Hand, this Ambassador, contrary to the Law of Nations, was put under Arrest, upon a Pretence for his having disbanded the Army.

This the Prince did by the Plentitude of his own Power, but for Form's Sake the Consideration of the King's Letter was refer'd to the Peers about him, by whom it seems it was gravely concluded, That *Whitehall* being crowded with Irish Papists, Priests and Jesuits (altho' it was well enough known they had all, before that time, been glad to scamper to save their Lives) his Highness could not be safe at *St. James's* before his Majesty was remov'd to a reasonable Distance from *London*; but

but in the Paper which the Prince signed on the Monday, another Reason was given; he therein desiring the Marquiss of *Hallifax*, the Earl of *Shrewsbury* and the Lord *Delamere*, to tell the King That it was thought convenient for the Quiet of the City and the Safety of his Majesty's Person that he should be removed to Ham: Thus at any Rate the poor King must be hurried away, lest his Presence might be an Impediment to the towring Designs of his unnatural Adversary.

While these things were in Agitation at *Windsor*, his Majesty after his Arrival at *Whitehall*, emitted an Order of Council for restoring the publick Tranquility, by suppressing riotous and tumultuous Meetings, which was the last public Act of his Regal Authority in this Kingdom; and tho' that very Night he was inform'd of *Feversham's* Confinement, yet the next Morning he sent the Earl of *Mulgrave* with a Compliment and further Concessions to the Prince of *Orange*, who was by this Time come to *Sion* House: But what had that *Jehu* to do with Peace? His Guards being advanced as far as *Kensington* and *Chelsea*, were order'd to quarter there that Night; but either the Uneasiness of the Prince at the Appearance of returning Loyalty in the *Metropolis*, or some other Reasons accelerating his Motions, they had fresh Orders to march and take Possession of all the Posts about *Whitehall* and *St. James's* by fair Means, or open Force; and this was to be done before the Message should be deliver'd to the King, that he should have no great Choice in deliberating what Course to take upon it.

The *Dutch Guards* marching accordingly, his Majesty, about Nine at Night, sent for Count *Solms*,

Dec. 17th.

ibid. 392.

Solms, who commanded them, desiring the small Favour that he might have his own Guard at *Whitehall*, only for that Night, which being deny'd, his Majesty was forc'd to submit and bid him do his Office: About Ten a Clock these Foreigners enter'd *St. James's House*, and towards Eleven those who were commanded to *Whitehall* moved thither thro' the *Park*. The Lord *Craven* who was directed by the Prince to order the King's Guards to retire from their Posts on the Approach of the *Dutch Troops*, not expecting them till the next Day, had given no Orders to that Purpose; and the *English* seeming unwilling to dislodge, the others advanced to charge them; but at last the King's Guards were perswaded to withdraw.

The *Dutch* being thus posted at *Whitehall*, the three Lords sent a Note to the Earl of *Middleton*, That there was a Message to be deliver'd to his Majesty, which was of so great Importance, that they who were charged with it, desired to be immediately admitted, and to know where they might find his Lordship, that he might introduce them.

It was then about one a Clock, and the distress'd Monarch, over-burden'd with Cares, was retir'd to rest them on his Bed, when the Lords being admitted to his Bed-side, after a short Apology for breaking in upon his Repose, at so unseasonable an Hour, they deliver'd the Paper to him, which he read, and told them he would comply with it; they then desiring he would remove so early as to be at *Ham* by Noon, to avoid meeting the Prince in his Way to *London*, where he was to come the same Day, his Majesty readily agreed to this also, asking whether he might not appoint what Servants should attend

tend him, which they told him was left to his Majesty's Pleasure, and so took their Leaves.

The King being now a Prisoner in his own House, and reflecting on the Saying of his Royal Father, that the Distance was but small between the Prisons and the Graves of Princes, (which was too fatally verified in that Case) resum'd his Thoughts of escaping; and sending for the Lords again, when they were gone as far as the Privy Chamber, told them, that since he found the Prince had no Mind he should be at London, he desired he might rather return to Rochester, than go to any other Place, which being communicated to the Prince, he guessing the King's Design of leaving the Realm, ordered *Bentink* to write a Letter agreeable to his Majesty's Proposal, which came to *Whitehall* before Eight a Clock in the Morning.

His Majesty was desirous of some of his own Guards to attend him, and one of his own Coaches to convey him to Rochester, declaring he could not travel by Water in so cold a Season, against Wind and Tide, without greatly endangering his Health. But, as if common Humanity was fled with Justice and Loyalty, the King attended only by the Earls of *Ailsbury*, *Litchfield*, *Arrian* and *Dunbarton*, and about Six of his own Yeomen, after having taken Leave of the Lords and others then present, most of whom were melted into Tears, at that moving Scene, was forc'd about Noon to take Barge under a Dutch Guard, and did not reach *Gravesend* till Nine at Night. From whence the next Morning he was guarded by some Troops of Dutch Horse to Rochester.

The

Great-Britain's
just Com-
plaints. fo.
10.

Hist. W.
3. *ibid.*
fo. 393.

Dec. 18th.

ibid. 394. The Prince of *Orange* came to *London* at his appointed Time; after which, tho' King *James* remain'd in *England*, his Reign seems to have receiv'd its final Period. The Earl of *Middleton*, Secretary of State, surrender'd the Seals, and the Lords of White-Staves and others, laid down the Badges of their Authority. The Lords Spiritual and Temporal met, to consider of Methods to pursue the Ends of the Prince's Declaration, and most of them enter'd into the Association which had been subscribed at *Exeter*. As to the Commons, the Members of the late Parliament, who had too eminently shewn their Loyalty to the King, and Fidelity to their Country, were not taken Notice of; but those of the three excluding Parliaments, as much fitter for the Purpose, were to be consulted.

Great-Britain. This Manner of proceeding still more unfolded the Plot, and gave the King a more perfect View of the desperate Condition of his Affairs; yet he was very unwilling to leave the Kingdom, if he could remain in it with any Manner of Safety; hoping by his Presence and his Readiness to grant every Thing that was reasonable, his seduced People might be reclaim'd to their Obedience. And as to this End, when he was last at *Whitehall*, he had sent a Message to Sir *Thomas Stamp* and to Sir *Simon Lewis*, two Aldermen of the City, desiring them to acquaint their Brethren and others of the Common Council, That he was resolv'd to put himself into the Hands of the City, there to remain till by a free Parliament he had given all Satisfaction to his People, by securing their Religion, Liberties and Properties; hoping that in the mean Time, they would take Care to Guard and

and secure his Person, which Message being communicated, as was desir'd, it was by the Interest of Sir *Robert Clayton* rejected, and the Security of his Person would not be assur'd to him. So now from *Rocheſter* he ſent a Message to the Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, to be communicated to the reſt of his Order, that he reſolv'd to come either publicly or privately, and put himſelf into the Hands of the Biſhops to be under their Protection, till he had fully Settled and Secured every thing in a free Parliament, which Message being imparted, met with no better Succeſs, their Return being, that they could not receive him, either publicly or privately under their Protection, for in that Caſe they ſhould be reſponſable for his Safety, and they were not in a Condition to ſecure him.

After ſo many Warnings confirm'd by the unaccountable Carriage of the *Prince*, and after ſo many fruitleſs Applications, only to be ſecured as to his Perſon, until he had given Satisfaction to his People, he could hardly be blamed for withdrawing, and thereby endeavouring to put himſelf in Safety ; ſo that being negligently guarded he made his Eſcape on the 23d of *December* about 2 or 3 in the Morning, and getting on Board a Frigate, commanded by Captain *Mackdonald*, who before had waited for him at *Margate*, he put to Sea, and with a favourable Wind ſafely arrived in *France*, leaving a Letter behind him, containing the Reaſons of his Withdrawing, and another to the Earl of *Middleton*, deſiring that the Dutch Guards which had attended him ſhould be gratified, every Captain with 100 Guineas, every Lieutenant and Enſign with 50, and the reſt in

Hiſt. W 3.
Vol. 1. fol.
396.

in Proportion ; all his Misfortunes not being able to make him forget his natural Generosity.

The King by thus quitting the Kingdom eased his Enemies of a great Deal of Trouble, with which their Affairs must have been embarrassed by the Presence of his Person ; nor, could the Prince otherwise, perhaps, have arrived at his Point without taking violent Courses, the mildest of which would have cast so deep a Stain on his Name and Honour, as the Crown could never have wiped out : But undoubtedly he had viewed his Scheme on all Sides, and whatever it had cost would have gone thro' Stich, so that the King's Care for his own Safety, could not be thought altogether unnecessary, however it was afterwards called on *Abdication*.

Jan. 22.

Thus far there had been an universal Harmony and Agreement: *Whigs* and *Tories*, *Church-men* and *Dissenters*, had joyned Hands in rescuing the Laws and Liberties of their Country ; but the Prince taking the Government upon him, and sending out Letters to summon the Convention, when they met, there were in both Houses very different Sentiments about the Methods of their future Security : Divers of those who had not foreseen the End, when they joyn'd in the Means, were startled at the unexpected Assertion of the *Vacancy of the Throne* ; but there was no going back ; a *Revolution* was now certainly become necessary, the *King* was gone, the *Prince* was possess'd of his Power, tho' not yet of his Title, had a foreign Army at his Devotion, and a strong Party, whose Nature and Principles inclined them from the First to proceed to Extremities: These by their long Correspondence were too well acquainted with the *Prince* to talk of a
Republic

Republic; but they thought the Reducing an Hereditary to an Elective Crown, was a good Step towards it; for when that is once at the disposal of the People, why may they not, at a fair Opportunity, keep it to themselves?

A Vacancy of the Throne and an Elective Monarchy, which are indeed co-incident, were Things till then utterly unknown to all our Laws, to which *Abdication* both in the Name and Thing was no less a Stranger: The Word in the Civil Laws signified a voluntary Desertion, and that of King *James* not clearly appearing to be so, it was not thought a Foundation sufficient to support a new Government; therefore Mismanagements were brought in to strengthen it, and an accumulating Vote, after several Debates, was carried by a Majority in the House of Commons, as follows.

Resolved, That King *James the Second*, having Jan. 28.
endeavour'd to subvert the Constitution of the Kingdom by breaking the Original Contract between King and People, and by the Advice of Jesuits and other wicked Persons, having violated the Fundamental Laws, and withdrawn himself out of the Kingdom, has Abdicated the Government, and that the Throne is thereby vacant; to which Vote, after a long Conference, the Lords at last concurred.

When Laws are making, and before they have receiv'd the Sanction of Laws, the Reason or Unreasonableness, Utility or Prejudice of them may be freely disputed, but after that, they are to be obey'd, and this Vote being afterwards confirm'd by the Legislature, and made the Basis of the Revolution, to which, as it is now establish'd, I heartily submit, I shall not question, but those who gave
their

their Affirmative to it had diligently perused the *Original Contract* and nicely examin'd every Clause and Covenant in it, whatever is become of it since, and that they went upon as good Grounds in the other Parts of their Resolve.

Great-
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just Com-
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16.

This Step thus got over, and the Throne declared Vacant, it was not difficult to guess how it must be fill'd; so that all that could be done was to endeavour to make some future Provision against Arbitrary Power, which when the Convention was deliberating upon, the Prince sent my Lord *Wharton* to several of the Lords, and Mr. *Cooling* to Sir *Edward Seymour*, Mr. *Hambden*, and other Commoners to let them know, that if they insisted so much on Limitations, he would return Home and leave them to the Mercy of King *James*; so tender a Regard had he to the *English* and their Liberties, and so great an Inclination to put them out of the Danger of Arbitrary Power.

This terrible Menace in that Time of Apprehensions might probably shorten the Declaration of Rights, which being settled, it was by both Houses Resolved, *That the Prince and Princess of Orange should be, and be declared King and Queen, &c. to hold the Crown during their Lives, and the Life of the Survivor of them, the Exercise of the Regal Power to be only in the Prince, in the Name of both during their Lives, and after their Decease the Crown and Dignity to be to the Heirs of the Body of the said Princess, and for Default of such Issue to the Princess Anne of Denmark, and the Heirs of her Body, and for Default of such Issue to the Heirs of the Body of the Prince of Orange. And the Oaths of Allegiance and Supremacy being abrogated, and new Forms substituted in their Place*

Place, the Prince and Princess of *Orange* were Proclaimed King and Queen, the 13th of *February* 1688.

If there be any Felicity in the Possession of a Crown so Thorny, as that of these Kingdoms has been to many of those who have worn it, Her present Majesty was a Sufferer, by having Her Right of immediate Succession; after her Sister, postponed by this Settlement, by which the Nation was for above Seven Years depriv'd of the Blessings of Her Reign: But this was no Time to dispute that Point with one of the Prince of *Orange's* Constitution; and the Faction could not but be pleased with any Thing that look'd like a Breach upon the Succession: But if according to their Notion, She had no previous Right to the Crown, but holds it meerly as the gracious Donative of the People, they might as well, upon further Consideration, have pass'd a total Exclusion against Her, (as some of them were afterwards inclinable enough to have done) and Her Majesty it seems could not justly have complain'd at the Disposal of what was their own, according to their good Pleasure.

Thus was this amazing *Revolution* accomplish'd, in which, to the Glory of the Fabricators it must be allow'd, that the whole Machine was so exquisitely contriv'd, and the Parts so duly adjusted, that when it was set together and put in Motion, it went on with little exterior Assistance, in that Order and Regularity, that many of those, who were mov'd by it, knew not they were leaving their old Government, till they were quietly seated under a new one; and

then awaking out of their Lethargy, wonder'd to find themselves in a strange Place; which made about Thirty seven Lords Spiritual and Temporal enter their Dissents against these Proceedings; and several of the Lower House left their Seats: Yet it was still thought, by the Generality of the People, that the Prince of Orange never dream'd of the *English* Crown, till it was presented to him, as the Acknowledgment of a gratefull People for their Deliverance.

But tho' the ultimate Design was then carried so privately, tho' a great Part of what is contain'd in these Sheets was then a Secret, tho' a certain brawny Clergyman, now of the higher Order, had not then informed the World how long it was before the Princess of Orange could be prevail'd on to give her Passive Consent to the Dethroning her Father; nor was it then known what Employments were dispos'd of in *Holland*; yet the common News-Writers there, spoke plainly enough, even at that Time, of which I shall give two Instances out of the General History of *Europe*; then Monthly publish'd in French at the *Hague* with Allowance.

In his Reflections on the Advices from *Holland*, *Novemb.* 1688. he saith thus—
 ' The Expence that has been bestow'd on the
 ' Fleet and Army set out from *Holland*, is a
 ' Sign they are morally assur'd of the Success of
 ' the Enterprize, which I am apt to think *has*
 ' been a long Time in Agitation; tho' it was car-
 ' ried with that Prudence and Secrecy, as not
 ' to be discover'd, till it could be no longer con-
 ' cealed.

But in his Reflections on the Advices from *England*, Dec. 1688. he tells us more plainly what this Enterprize was, which was so long in Agitation--
 ' As soon (say he) as the Enterprize of the P. of
 ' *Orange* was discours'd of, all Men imagin'd that
 ' he was sure of the greatest Part of the No-
 ' bility of *England*. Some put the Question,
 ' *Whether he will Dethrone his Father-in-Law?* Or,
 ' *Whether he will be Content with the Honour*
 ' *of having saved the Protestant Religion, and*
 ' *the Liberties of the English Nation*—— For
 ' my Part, I believe an Accommodation will be
 ' a difficult Thing —— I make no Question,
 ' but in the next Parliament, *King James will be*
 ' declar'd to have *Forfeited his Crown*.

This it seems was all along the Design, a-
 gainst which the known Maxim in our Law,
That the King can do no Wrong, wisely establish'd
 to Fence the Sacred Persons of our Monarchs,
 proved too weak a Defence; and altho' all the
 Grievances complain'd of, in the P. of O——'s
 Declaration were therein justly charged on the
 Evil Counsellors, yet they all went free, and
 only the King must suffer. The Prime Mini-
 ster of Darkness pretended to fly, (as some
 others did, who had more Reason to apprehend
 the Resentments of the growing Power) and
 getting into *Holland*, was apprehended at *Rot-
 terdam*. But the Day before *K. William* and his
 Queen were Proclaimed, as soon as the Houses
 were come to a Resolution, the new King
 wrote a Letter to the States, to notify his Ad-
 vancement to the Crown; and to shew he was
 not unmindful of good Services, by the same

Hist.
W. 3. Vol.
4.

Express, sent an Order for the Enlargement of the E. of S——d, yet prudently so far conceal'd his Affection to him, that in the Act of Indemnity which did not pass till 15. Months afterwards, the Earl was one of those excepted, notwithstanding which Exception, he was more trusted by the King, than any other Person, but without any Publick Character or Employment till the Year 1697 when he was prefer'd to the Office of Chamberlain of the Houshold; which being much disrelish'd by all Parties, he resign'd that Office to the Earl of *Dorset* for a Sum of Money, and without any further Punishment in this World went quietly to his Grave.

And now being arrived at this remarkable Æra of the *Revolution*, I shall here close this Second Part of these Papers, intending, if it meets with Acceptance, and Heaven shall lend me Life and Opportunity, to present the World in a short Time with a Third Part, wherein I shall endeavour to give some Account of the Self-Denial and Moderation, Loyalty and Honesty, by which this precious Party have since eminently distinguish'd themselves, and more especially in the Reign of our present most excellent Queen, whom *God long preserve*.

F I N I S.